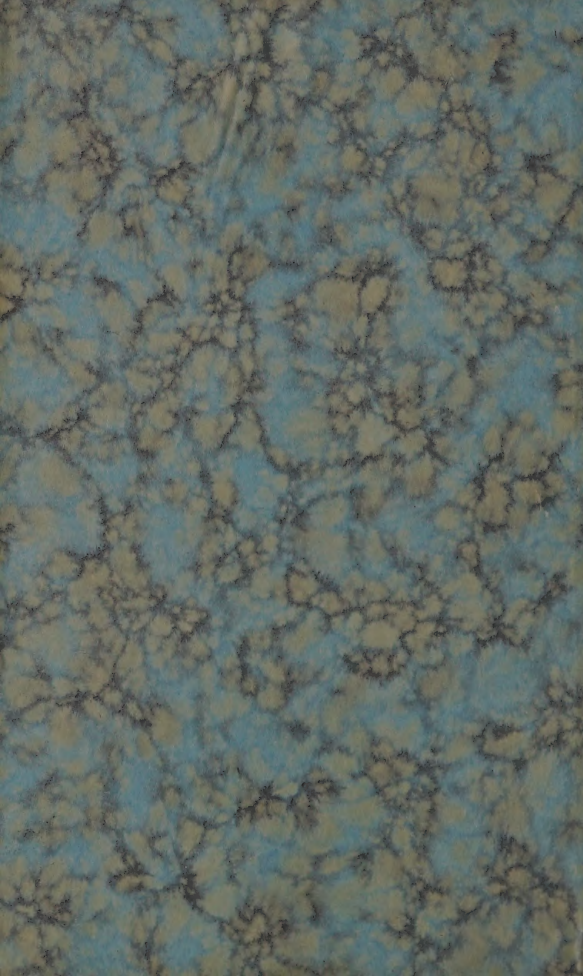
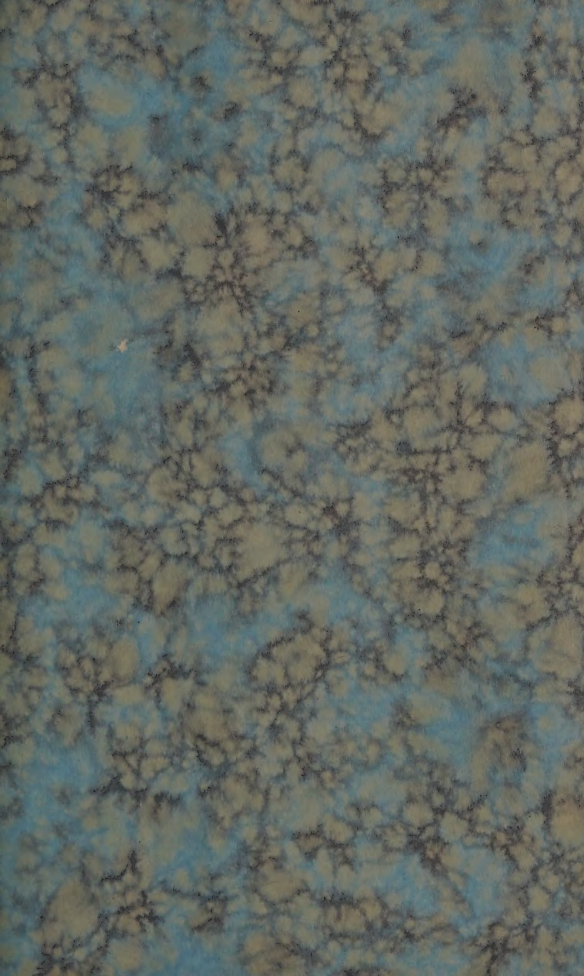






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CROUCH, Nathaniel

Two JOURNEYS TO JERUSALEM.

CONTAINING

First, A strange and true ACCOUNT of the TRAVELS of two *English* Pilgrims some Years since, and what admirable Accidents befel them in their Journey to *Jerusalem, Grand Cairo, Alexandria, &c.*

Secondly, The TRAVELS of fourteen *Englishmen*, in 1669, to *Jerusalem, Bethlem, Jericho, the River Jordan, the Lake of Sodom and Gomorrah, &c.* With the Antiquities, Monuments, and Memorable Places mentioned in Scripture. By T. B.

To which are prefixed,

Memorable REMARKS upon the Antient and Modern State of the *Jewish* Nation. As 1. A Description of the Holy Land, its Situation, Fertility, &c. 2. The several Captivities of the *Jews*, after they were possess'd thereof. 3. Probable Conjectures of what is become of the Ten Tribes who were carried Captives by the *Affyrians*, with divers pertinent Relations pursuant thereto. 4. The State of the *Jews* since their Extermination; with the present Condition of *Palestine*.

Together with a Relation of the Great Council of the *Jews* in the Plains of *Hungaria*, in 1650, to examine the Scriptures concerning Christ. By S. B. an *Englishman* there present.

With an Account of the wonderful Delusion of the *Jews*, by a false Christ at *Smyrna*, in 1666.

Lastly, The final Extirpation and Destruction of the *Jews* in *Persia*, in 1666; and the Occasion thereof.

Collected by R. B.

LONDON: Printed and Sold by all the Booksellers. 1759.

1703





T O T H E R E A D E R.

THE following Relations, containing such variety of remarkable Transactions, and particularly the miserable State of the Jewish Nation, after the Almighty had abandoned them for their many provoking Crimes, (especially that of crucifying with wicked Hands the Son of God,) may be instructive to us. And it may be diverting to observe what Wonders bigotted Pilgrims and Travellers are told of those once famous Places in and about Jerusalem, to which the Priests add fresh Legends, as they have Opportunity.

As to the strange Delusion of the Jews by a counterfeit Messiah, or false Christ, at Smyrna, and in the adjacent Countries. Likewise their utter Extirpation out of the Dominion of the King of Persia, in 1666. These seem the Effects of the Divine Wrath which still pursues them for their Impenitency; their Malice to the blessed Jesus appearing as great at this Day, as their Fore-fathers showed who murdered him. Of which we have a very late instance in London, of a young Jewish Woman, who by reading the New Testament, being convinced

of the Truth of Christianity, they bore her a mortal Hatred, enaeavouring by all manner of vile Means to take away her Life, and impudently termed her Holy Redeemer, That Hanged Man. He was indeed hanged on a Tree by the Jews of his Time, but they themselves knew then, that he rose from the Dead, and so triumphed over all that Hell and hellish Men had contrived. And though they hired the Soldiers that first saw him rise out of the Grave, to suppress so dreadful a truth as his Resurrection must needs have been to them, yet it broke out with such undeniable Evidence, that not a few of those who had procured his Death came afterwards to believe in him, nor could they by the Imprisonments, Whippings, Stonings, and all other Effects of their enraged Cruelty, by which those first Converts to Christianity suffered so much fright them from publishing those Things which they had seen and heard. I shall add no more but to assure the Reader that the Truth of these Relations is undeniable.

R. B.

Memorable

MEMORABLE REMARKS

Upon the Antient and Modern State of
the Jewish Nation.

- I. *A Description of the Holy Land, its Situation, Fertility, &c.*
- II. *The several Captivities of the Jews after they were posselt thereof.*
- III. *Probable Conjectures of what is become of the Ten Tribes which were carried captive by the Assyrians. With divers pertinent Relations pursuant thereto.*
- IV. *The State of the Jews (since their Extermination) with the present Condition of Palestine; and other notable Particulars.*

I. *A Description of Palestine, Canaan, on the Holy Land.*


 CANAAN is situated in Asia Major, or the Greater Asia, one of the most famous provinces of Syria, called by several names: As, 1. The Land of Canaan, from Canaan the son of Ham, the son of Noah, who by his often chafing, was driven to possess and inhabit the same. 2. The Land of Promise, because God had promised it to the patriarchs, Abra-

Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their posterity. 3. Israel, of the Israelites, from Jacob who was surnamed Israel. 4. Judea, from the Jews, or people of the tribe of Judah. 5. Palestine, by Ptolomy and others, or the Land of the Philistines, a potent nation that peopled part of it. 6. The Holy Land, as the country in which the holy people dwelt, who had the law, the promises, and the priesthood; and so denominated by the christians, because herein was wrought the work of our salvation by Jesus Christ our blessed Lord and Saviour.

This country is seated in the middle of the world, between the third and fourth climates, about 32 degrees north of the equinoctial line, the longest day being fourteen hours and a quarter; situate between the Mediterranean sea and Arabia, from which it is bulwarked beyond Jordan with a continual ridge of mountains, which secures it from the burning air of the deserts of Arabia Petrea, and Celosyria that lie on the east thereof; as Idumea, the wilderness of Paran and Egypt bound it on the south. Part of Phœnicia and the Mediterranean sea on the west, and the mountains of Libanus, or Lebanon, and the other part of Phœnicia on the north. It extends from 31 to 33 degrees, so that in length, from Dan to Beersheba, it is not full two hundred miles long, nor doth the breadth exceed fifty (reckoning a thousand paces to a mile) and the whole circumference is not above four hundred miles. A country so fruitful, that the scripture from the mouth of God tells us, *It was a land that flowed with milk and honey, and the glory of all lands.* The salubrity of the air is excellent, the northern mountains keeping the colder blasts at their due distance, and the midland sea sending thither its refreshing breezes. This being that which the scripture usually calls the Great Sea, for the Hebrews were little acquainted with the ocean, and so they gave the name of sea to lakes or any large conflux of waters. The winter is neither too cold, nor the summer too hot. The inner part of the country is diversified with beautiful mountains and hills, advantageous for vine-, fruit-trees, and small cattle, and the delightful valleys are water-

ed with a great number of torrents, very necessary to moisten the country, which hath no other river besides Jordan. The rains there fall very seldom, and are very regular, coming in the spring and autumn, which the scripture calls, *The rains of the morning and evening*, considering the year as a day : In summer the abundant dews supply the rarity of the showers. The very rocks produce abundance of fruits and sweet springs : the pleasant pastures feed great numbers of all sorts of cattle, and the cows give the best milk in the world. There is also brave hunting and hawking, for deer, goats, hares, partridges, quails, &c. all kind of fowl are plentiful, and lions, bears, and wolves may be found in abundance.

And though some authors write, that we must not judge of the Holy Land by what is seen at this day, being now fallen under the dominion of the Turks and Arabians, who by their continual wars and ravages have made it almost desolate, and a desert, and like a place forsaken of God. Yet several late travellers assert, That we ought not to believe the reports of those pilgrims who arriving at Joppa, from thence march up the hills to Jerusalem, and then back again to the sea, for fear of the Arabs. Whereas others have been more adventurous, and have had the courage to trace through the body of the country, have given us far more advantageous accounts of it, than the other, who have only footed it over the mountainous tracts of Judah, which were never reputed famous for beauty or fruitfulness. These travellers tell us, that though the face of the land be somewhat deformed for want of culture and tillage among the barbarous infidels, and may possibly, in part, groan under the heavy curse of God for the sins of its former inhabitants, yet some of the verdure and foot-steeps of its antient excellencies are still scattered here and there, as testimonies of its antient glory ; as particularly in the region of Galilee, in the northern parts whereof stands a pleasant range of mountains, by the name of Lebanon, containing a valley of twenty-five miles in length, and fifty in breadth, in the midst whereof is the fair city of Damascus, about six miles

miles in compass, fortified with a wall and double ditches. The country adjacent is so exceeding fruitful that (for the deliciousness thereof) it is called the Garden of Eden to this day, and the plains thereof are the most amiable prospect that any eye can behold upon earth. And Mr. Bidulph, an English divine, travelling over a mountain near the sea of Galilee, found it extream pleasant, and so bespangled with variety of flowers among the green grass, that they seemed to smile in their faces, and as it were to laugh and sing as the Psalmist expresses it. And all the way they travelled that day all the hills and valleys were extraordinary fertile, according to the description of Moses, Deut. viii. The fields of Bashan, or Bethshan, in Samaria, were the like, and coming to a place called Jenine, or Engannim in scripture, they saw very fine gardens, orchards and springs of water. And north of Lidda, near the castle of Augia in this province, they entred a goodly forest, full of tall and delightful trees, intermix'd with fruitful and flowry vales, so that nothing could be more entertaining, and perhaps the whole earth cannot produce a more pleasant prospect.

In Judea, between Rama and Jerusalem, are exceeding fat pastures, about six miles in length, and the rising hills are mix'd with fertile valleys. The valleys of Repnaim, Eshcol, and Jericho, are very pleasant, unless those adjoining to the sea of Sodom, and the whole country in general is much commended by divers authors, and many places painted forth as most delectable Paradises. And though this Blessed Land lie in an hot climate, equal to some parts of burning Barbary, yet by reason of the mountains and valleys, springs and rivers, and a western sea, it is a moderate country, in respect to those of a like situation.

The fruits of the land are especially these, balm, honey, spices, myrrh, nuts and almonds; nor is their wheat to be forgotten, nor oil, with which they traded in the market of Tyrus; nor their barley, rice, pulse, melons, cucumbers, figs, mauna, frankincense, citrons, fennel, sage wild in the fields, and onions thrice as big as any of ours,

very

very pleasant and of no offensive smell, but comfortable to the stomach, and therefore may give us a hint why the *Israelites* so much desired them. Also mustard, which is the least of seeds among garden plants, and yet bringeth forth the largest body, especially in the eastern parts, of which the Jewish Talmud relates one or two stories: As that there was in Sichem a stalk or trunk of a mustard tree which had three branches, and one branch was broken off to cover a potter's shed, under which he formed his earthen-ware in summer-time, and that from this branch was taken the quantity of twenty-four eggs of mustard-seed. Again, Rabbi Simeon asserts in the Talmud, that he had in his garden a mustard-stalk so big that he used to climb up as into a fig-tree. Buchstorf relating these passages, avouches not for the full credit of them, but only shews that this plant was of a large growth in these parts, and may confirm the letter of our Saviour's parable concerning it. The mountains of Judah and Ephraim were places of great vineyards, and the relation of the Spies which Moses sent, who brought that prodigious cluster of grapes from Eschol is a sufficient evidence of their largeness, it compared with those of Spain, France, or Italy. Round about Jericho there were palm-trees of vast revenue, through their sudden springing up after they were lopped or felled, and it was the only part of the world where true balm was to be found. The mountains likewise produced gold, silver, iron and copper mines. To conclude, there was nothing wanting in this garden of God, that was necessary either for the use or delight of mankind.

The fruitfulness of the country, and the care they took to cultivate it, may make us conceive how that being so little, it could nourish so great a number of men; for an ingenious person, to reduce it the better to our understanding, affirms, that from Dan to Beersheba, which two places St. Jerom reckons not to be two hundred miles asunder, and the ordinary breadth of the land to be about fifty or sixty miles, it comprehends a quantity of ground possibly much about the bigness of a supposed canile of England, which

might be bounded by a line drawn from Portsmouth to York, and extending from both these places eastward to the German ocean: Or it may be in the whole it did not exceed the principality of Wales; supposing a line comprehending it from Bristol to Chester, which by the new measures of miles are 145 miles asunder, and what it wants in length, may be supplied in breadth. Besides, the Israelites were but little employed in maritime affairs, to furnish themselves with foreign wares, which very much confirms the wonderful plenty of this land; only one remark must be made, that it is a country full of hills, which renders it much larger than a plain, even, and champain country; for what is said of Scotland, that it is an hundred miles longer, and an hundred miles shorter than England, may be applied to the state of Palestine; that is, by the degrees of latitude it is an hundred miles shorter, but to them that travel up and down its craggy hills and mountains, it will extend to an hundred miles more. This author adds, that it being very hilly, and therefore subject to cool breezes and freshes of air and wind: It any place in England may claim kindred with Canaan, he thinks Devonshire may bid the fairest as to the general state of both; though Canaan was far more fruitful, and its hills generally not so high and imperious, unless we respect Carmel and Lebanon; and therefore in regard to the many little hills, easy ascents, delightful vales, and some champains, he reckons the mountainous part of Hertfordshire hath the nearest affinity, enjoying so many pleasant silver brooks, interwoven and checkered with lovely groves, and enamel'd with beautiful mansions of our nobility and gentry; but herein Canaan was transcendent, that it had the delightful prospect of the western ocean, which is more wholesome for air, and the inhabitants generally more healthful than such as are wash'd by the eastern waves.

This Holy Land being confined within such small limits as we have mentioned, it will at first require a strong faith to believe all that the holy Scripture says in this case. When the people first entered that country under Joshua, there were above six hundred thousand men bearing arms from twenty years old to sixty; and we read in Judges, that

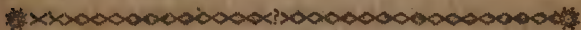
that in the war of Gibeah, the only tribe of Benjamin, (the least of all,) had an army of twenty-six thousand men, and that the rest of the people amounted to four hundred thousand: King Saul marched with two hundred and ten thousand against the Amalekites, when he extirpated them; King David kept continually on foot twelve bodies of twenty-four thousand apiece, who served by months, which was in all two hundred and fourscore thousand men, and in the numbering of the people, which brought the anger of God upon him, there were found in this small compass of earth, fifteen hundred threescore and ten thousand men in Israel and Judah which drew sword, and were fit for war, besides the men of Levi and Benjamin, and besides the women, children, aged and impotent persons, and besides the strangers and heathens, and the remainders of the philistines which were not fully rooted out in David's time, none of which were inserted in Joab's list, 1 Chron. xxi. 5. Neither was the muster of Jehosaphat much disproportioned, for altho' he had not much above the third part of David's kingdom, yet he maintained several bodies of very good troops, which all together made up eleven hundred and sixty thousand men effectively, without reckoning the garrisons that were in his strong holds, 2 Sam. xxiv. 9.

However, in all this there is nothing incredible; for besides the indubitable authority and veracity of sacred writ, which ought to be unquestionably believed and attended to, we find the like examples in common history: The great Thebes of Egypt raised seven hundred thousand brave soldiers of its own inhabitants alone. At Rome, in the first year of Severus Tullius, being the hundred and eighty-eighth year from its foundation, there were counted fourscore thousand Citizens able to bear arms, and yet all these subsisted in the lands adjacent to Rome, and whereof the most part is now barren and uninhabited; for their dominions extended no further than eight or ten leagues, but herein consisted the policy of the antients; that instead of invading or disturbing their neighbours they endeavoured to people and manure their country, whether little or much: They studied to render marriages happy, and life easy, to

procure health and abundance, and to raise from their land all that it could produce: They exercised their citizens by labour, inspired them with a love of their country, of union between themselves, and submission to the laws; this is that which they called policy.

These maxims perhaps some will say are very pretty, but let us come to particulars, and shew how it was possible for so small a country as Palestine should nourish so great a number of men. An acre of good land bringing forth five quarters, a comb, and a bushel of wheat (London measure) will easily feed four men for a year, allowing each two pound and six ounces of bread every day, which is about three bushels a month, and thirty-six bushels a year to each man; but since our Israelites were great eaters, let us allow them double the nourishment; that is to say, four pound twelve ounces of bread a day: Thus an acre will be sufficient to feed two men, and by this account we shall have land still remaining, for a league square makes five thousand six hundred and twenty-five acres, by reckoning three thousand geometrical paces in a league, five foot in a pace, twenty feet in a rod, and an hundred rods in an acre. The kingdom of Judea was at least thirty leagues in length, above twenty in breadth, counting the length from east to west, which was six hundred leagues, and by consequence three millions three hundred sixty five thousand acres, which according to this calculation might nourish twice as many men; that is, six millions seven hundred and fifty thousand, but we will deduct half the lands for those that may prove barren, for the rocks, sands, and little desarts here and there intermingled, for vineyards and pastures, and for the repose which the land requires, at least every seventh year. Yet there remains enough to feed a number of men equal to the sum total of the acres, that is to say, three millions three hundred threescore and five thousand: So it was easy to levy twelve hundred thousand swordmen in a country where all people bore arms, and still to have corn to sell to strangers toward the purchase of cattle; for if the flocks that country produced did not sufficiently furnish them with wool and flesh, we need not doubt but that tributary strangers brought

brought them many cattle. Jehoshaphat, besides the tribute of money which he exacted from the Philistines, received from the Arabians seven thousand five hundred rams, and as many goats, and there are other examples of the like tributes: Add to this, that the Israelites lived frugally, and that all the good land they had was carefully manured; since there were few woods, they had neither parks for hunting, nor avenues, nor bowling-greens, nor grass-flats. We see by the canticles of Solomon, their gardens were full of fruit-trees, and aromattick plants; and they must needs be in less pain to provide lodging than nourishment, since half, nay a quarter of an acre of land is more than sufficient to lodge at large, not only a man, but a whole family.



II. *The several Captivities of the Jewish Nation, after they were possess'd of the Land of Canaan.*

THIS happy country was divided into thirty kingdoms or principalities, when the Israelites, under the conduct of their captain-general Joshua, (by the command of God) made a conquest thereof, most of the antient inhabitants being for their abominations excluded out of the land, or destroyed by the sword of the Israelites, who afterwards govern'd the country by princes and judges, till the time of Samuel, being about four hundred years: These rulers or judges were not all of one tribe, but the most antient, grave, and prudent, were chosen out of every tribe. Afterwards the Israelites growing weary of this government under which the Almighty had placed them, at their earnest request, that they might be like other nation, the Lord appointed them a king, and so their government was changed from a theocracy, or government appointed by God, to that of a monarchy, under which they continued from the year of the world 2909, to the year 3416, during which space of time, by their repeated idolatries, oppressions, and other

other great crimes, they provoked the Almighty to bring them into bondage under several foreign princes, who were ambitious to incorporate that happy land with their own; and at length, by persecuting and putting to death the saints and prophets sent them from God, and crucifying the Son of God the Lord of glory, and the Saviour of mankind, with their murderous hands, and finally wishing that the guilt of his innocent blood might fall on them and their children, they brought their government and country to utter ruin and destruction.

The Israelites were ten times led into captivity, four times by the hands of Sanherib, or Sennacherib, four times by Nebuchadnezzar, once by Titus Vespasian, and once by Adrian, Emperor of Rome, as it is recorded in scripture, and according to the account of Josephus, with other historians.

The first captivity was by Sanherib, who invaded the land, and transplanted the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh; he took away also the golden calf which Jeroboam the son of Nebat had made; he carried the Israelites into Helah, Habor, to the river Gozan, and to the cities of the Medes: this captivity was in the time of Pekah, the son of Remaliah, in the year from the creation of the world 3263.

The Second captivity happened soon after, for Hoshta, the son of Ela who remained, slew Pekah, the son of Remaliah King of Israel, and then became the servant and subject of Sanherib seven years; then came Sanherib the second time, and carried away the tribes of Asher, Issachar, Zebulun, and Nepthali, of whom he set free only one out of every eight, he took away another calf that was in Bethel.

The third captivity was in the reign of Zedekiah the son of Anaz; in the fourth year of whole reign, Sanherib came and intrenched about Samaria, besieging it three years and at length took it, in the sixth year of the reign of Hezekiah; so he led away the Israelites that were in Samaria, and the tribe of Ephraim, and the rest of Manasseh.

The fourth captivity was by Nebuchadnezzar, who having reigned eight years made wars against Jerusalem, bring-

bringing with him the Clinteon hereticks out of Babylon, Ethiopia, Hemates, Areim and Sepharvaim. And in Judea he took an hundred and fifty cities, in which were the two tribes of Judah and Simeon, which he carried with him, and caused them forthwith to be sent into Halah and Habor until the king of Ethiopia rebelled against him, whose kingdom was on the southern part of Egypt. Then taking Simeon and Judah with him, he made war with the Ethiopian king. So the holy and blessed God placed them in the dark mountains. Thus in these four captivities the ten tribes were carried in banishment by Sanherib and Salmanasser. There remained yet of Judah an hundred and ten thousand, and of Benjamin an hundred and thirty thousand in the city of Jerusalem, over whom reigned Hezekiah. Moreover Sanherib came, or Sennacherib king of Assyria, out of Ethiopia against Jerusalem again, with an army of one hundred and ten thousand men, but the holy Lord overthrew them, for the angel of the Lord smote an hundred eighty and five thousand in one night. This slaughter was in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, in the year of the world 3294. From which overthrow, till the time that Nebuchadnezzar invaded the Jews in the reign of Jehojakin were an hundred and seven years.

The fifth captivity was in the fourth year of Jehojakin, when Nebuchadnezzar came the first time and carried away three thousand and twenty-three of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and seven thousand of their most valiant men of the other tribes whom they bound in chains.

The sixth captivity was about seven years after, when Nebuchadnezzar, came unto Daphna, a city of Antioch, from whence he carried into bondage four thousand six hundred of the tribe of Judah, of Benjamin fifty thousand, and of the other tribes seven thousand, and transmigrated them into Babylon.

The seventh captivity happened about nine years after this. For in the ninth year of the reign of Zedekiah, Nebuchadnezzar, in the nineteenth year of his reign, came the third time to Jerusalem, and overcoming Zedekiah he burnt the temple, took away the pillars, the brazen sea, and

and the furniture that Solomon had made, and all the vessels of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the house of the king which was in Jerusalem, and sent them all to Babylon. He likewise slew of the Israelites nine hundred and one thousand, besides them that were slain to revenge the blood of Zacharias. The Levites stood singing a song whilst slaughter was made of them, but they were not able to finish it, before the enemy entered the temple, and found them standing in their places with harps in their hands; Therefore he carried away in this captivity six thousand of the Levites; who were of the seed of Aaron, whom when the Gentiles had brought to the rivers of Babylon, they demanded of the Jews, *Sing us a song of Sion.* Whereat the priests gnawed off the tops of their fingers with their teeth, saying, *How shall we sing the song of the Lord in a strange land?* And the blessed Lord (saith Josephus) seeing they would not sing a song, enlarged them, and placed them on the further side of Sambaria. Nebuchadnezzar likewise carried away eight hundred and thirty-two thousand, which were all of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin, leaving only six thousand in Jerusalem, making Gedaliah the son of Ahikam ruler over them, who was after slain by Ishmael the son of Nathaniah, whereupon the Israelites being afraid, fled from their country into Egypt, in the year of the world 3416.

The eighth captivity was in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. He took Egypt and Tyre, drowned the Jews that were therein, and the nations which descended of Ammon and Moab, and of the land bordering upon Israel, and led Jeremy and Baruch with him into Egypt, with four thousand six hundred persons more. The Israelites that remained alive in Egypt departed to Alexandria, where they soon increased to many thousands, having their sanctuary, altar, offerings, incenses, houses, studies, schools, in great numbers, and in a short time grew very rich and powerful. But wicked Trojanus made war upon them, and slew very many of them. These are the eight captivities or bondages which beset the Jews during the standing of the first house or temple. Seventy years after

after the desolation of which, Cyrus, king of Persia, sent to Nehemiah, Zerub-babel, Baruch, and his whole society, to build the second house or temple. Then Ezra went from Babylon with forty thousand in his company, and the Israelites were afflicted under Cyrus for thirty three years, being exposed to the affronts and calumnies of their enemies, and ready to have their throats cut upon the least order of the Great King, as appears by the cruel edict which Haman obtained against them, and from the direful effects whereof they were preserved by Esther. Unable were they to finish the building of the temple until twenty years after their first return, and it took them up above sixty years more to complete the walls of Jerusalem, which was fourscore years in re-establishing. After which, during the rest of the Persian monarchy, they lived very peaceably in a kind of republick, governed by the high-priests and the council of seventy-one elders.

Alexander, king of Macedon, having destroyed the Persian monarchy, reigned twelve years, and then dying four usurpers succeeded him, who afflicted the Israelites an hundred fifty-eight years. Then the sons of Asmonani came and slew those usurpers, and taking the dominion from them reigned themselves an hundred and three years. Then ruled one Herod, the servant to Asmonani, who killed his master, and his whole family, save one maid whom he loved: But she climbed up to the top of an house and said, *There is nobody left alive of my father's house but I alone.* So she cast herself headlong from the top of the house and died. Herod laid her in honey, and preserved her for the space of seven years, and it was reported that he had criminal converse with her after she was dead. After him Herod Agrippa his son, and Manazah his nephew possess'd the kingdom an hundred and three years. And thus have we the four hundred and three years wherein the second house or temple stood before its fatal fall.

The ninth captivity of the Jews was under the conduct of the Romans. When the Jews having made the full measure of their sins run over, by putting to death the Lord of Life, God's judgments, according to their deserts, and our

bleſſed Saviour's prophecy, quickly overtook them. For a mighty army of the Romans beſieged, and plundered the city of Jeruſalem, wherein by fire, famine, ſword, intestine diſcord, &c. Eleven hundred thouſand people loſt their lives. An incredible number it ſeems to be, but may command our belief if we conſider that the ſiege began at the time of the paſſover, when in a manner all Judea was incloſed in Jeruſalem, all private ſynagogues then doing their duty to the mother temple, ſo that the city had more gueſts than inhabitants. Thus the paſſover firſt inſtituted by God in mercy, to ſave the Iſraelites from death in Egypt, was now uſed by him in juſtice to haſten their deſtruction, and to gather the nation in a bundle to be caſt into the fire of his anger.

Befides thoſe who were ſlain ninety-ſeven thouſand were taken captives, and they who had bought our Saviour of Judas for thirty pieces of ſilver, were themſelves ſold for thirty a penny.

The general of the Romans in this action was Titus, ſon to Veſpaſian, Emperor of Rome. A prince of ſuch an excellent temper that he was ſtiled the darling of mankind, ſo virtuoſly diſpoſed that he may be juſtly counted the glory of all heathens, and ſhame of moſt chriſtians, ſo that it was great pity ſo good a branch had not been better grafted. Thus the antient nation of the Jews, which in former times might have been called the favourites of the Almighty, were utterly deſtroyed, and the famous city of Jeruſalem, which had been ſurprized and plundered five times before, was totally demolished.

The firſt founder of it was one of the princes of the Canaanites, called in his own language, *The Juſt King*, and indeed he was ſo, for he was the firſt prieſt that ſacrificed to God, and dedicated a temple there, called Soiyima; but David, king of Iſrael, having driven out the Canaanites, gave it to the Jews to be inhabited, and after 464 years and three months it was deſtroyed by the Babylonians, together with the moſt magnificent and beautiful temple of king Solomon, upon which one hundred and fifty thouſand men wrought continually 'till it was finiſhed; the grandeur
and

and glory whereof, you may read in the holy scriptures. Jerusalem was afterward taken and plundered by Afocheus, king of Egypt, afterward by Antiochus and Pompey, and lastly by the Romans; and from king David, who was the first Jew that reigned there, until Titus destroyed it, were 1179 years; and from the time it was first erected, until it was thus ruined, were 1177 years, yet neither the antiquity, riches, nor fame thereof, nor the glory of religion did any thing avail to hinder this hard destiny; such was the end of besieging Jerusalem, when none was left to kill more, nor any thing remaining for the soldiers to get, or whereon they might exercise their courage, who resolved to spare nothing they could spoil.

Titus laboured to the utmost to have saved the temple, and many therein, but the Jews, by their desperate obstinacy rendered themselves incapable of mercy, so that he was at length obliged to destroy the city and temple together; and the temple where so many burnt-sacrifices had been offered, was now itself made a sacrifice, and burnt to ashes: And of that stately structure which drew the apostle's admiration, not a stone was left upon a stone; the walls of the city, more shaken with the sins of the Jews that defended them, than with the battering-rams of the Romans that assaulted them, were levelled to the ground; three towers only that were more beautiful than the rest, namely, Phaselus, Hippicos, and Mariamne, with the wall on the west side being left standing, designed to receive a garrison, and to remain as monuments of the strength and valour of the Romans, who had overcome a place so well fortified; all the rest being laid so flat, that to those who had not seen it before, there was no appearance that it had ever been inhabited.

But while this storm fell on the unbelieving Jews, it was calm among the Christians, who warned by our Saviour's predictions, and many other prodigies, fled betimes out of Jerusalem to Pella, a private place beyond Jordan, which served them instead of a little Zoar, to save them from eminent destruction.

As for the remaining Jews, divine vengeance did continually

nually pursue them 'till the most part were destroyed, and the rest dispersed throughout the world, even to this day; for first, the inhabitants of Cæsarea slew of the Jews in one day above twenty thousand, and such as fled were taken and imprisoned by Florus, the lieutenant of Judea. To revenge this slaughter, the Jews fell upon the Syrians, in which battle thirteen thousand Jews were slain; the people of Alexandria put fifty thousand to the sword, they of Damascus ten thousand, and Antonius, a Roman captain, slew in Ascalon ten thousand; and Cestius, another captain, slew above fourscore thousand Jews: Vespasian, the father of Titus, in the siege of Apheca, slew and took prisoners seventeen thousand one hundred and thirty persons; in Samaria eleven thousand six hundred; and in Josepata forty-two thousand two hundred: In Joppa so many were killed, and drowned themselves, that the sea threw up four thousand two hundred, and the rest so totally perished, that there remained not one to carry tidings to Jerusalem of the loss of the town: In the city of Tarichea were slain and made captives forty-five thousand, besides those which were given to king Agrippa: In Gamala there perish'd ninety thousand, none being left alive but only two women: In Gascala five thousand died by the sword: In the city of Gadara were slain thirty-two thousand two hundred, besides an infinite number that drowned themselves. These desolations happened before the destruction of Jerusalem, in which, as I have said, there died eleven hundred thousand Jews by sword and famine, the worse enemy of the two; and there were found two thousand dead in privies, and filthy sinks; which numbers may not seem incredible, if, besides the former account, we add, that it is evident that when Cestius was lieutenant of Judea, the high-priest, at his request, numbered the people which came to eat of the paschal lamb, and found them to be two millions and seven hundred thousand souls, all healthy, and purified. All these massacres, besides divers others omitted, and infinite numbers slain in the fields and villages, which drowned themselves, and were privately made away, amounting to near two millions of people, happened in the space of four years, beginning in
twelfth

twelfth of the emperor Nero, and ending in the second year of Vespasian.

The tenth and last captivity of the Jews was in the time of the emperor Ælius Adrianus, about sixty years after, who re-built the city of Jerusalem, changing the situation somewhat westward, and calling it by his own name Ælius: In despite of the christians he built a temple over our Saviour's grave, with the images of Jupiter and Venus; another at Bethlem to Adonis her gallant; and to enrage the Jews he engraved a swine over the gates of Jerusalem, and a Jew under his feet, in token of subjection: Who being inflamed at this great prophanation of their land, broke out in open rebellion, and joined with one that pretended to be the Messias, who called himself Barchochab (or Bencozbi, for they are thought to be the same) that is, *the son of a star*, who said that the scripture foretold of him, which says, *There shall come a star out of Jacob*; &c. And Rabbi Akiba, a man of great fame in those times, when he saw him, said, *This is the King, the Messiah*: This Barchochab was (as some affirm) in Jerusalem before its destruction, and Akiba applied unto him that of the prophet Haggai, *The desire of all nations shall come*; and not only the common people, but the Rabbies and chief doctors of the Jews that remained after the city of Jerusalem was destroyed, owned and assisted him, and erected a city called Britter, as the metropolis or chief seat of the kingdom, declaring this false Christ to be their king; the emperor Adrian besieged them in this city, and at length he took it, and cut off the head of Bencozbi; in this war, by the most modest accounts, forty-five thousand Jews lost their lives, and such a devastation was made of the whole nation, that to this day they could never assemble in any great numbers in any part of the world: The captives were by Adrian transported into Spain, and the Holy Land laid waste, parting with her people and fruitfulness in a great measure all at once: Such stragglers as escaped this banishment, and remained behind, were forbidden to enter into Jerusalem, or so much as to behold it from any rise or advantage of ground; yet they obtained of the after emperors the favour once a year, on the

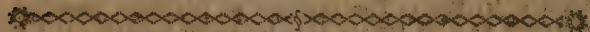
the tenth of August, the day whereon the city was taken; to go in and bewail the destruction of the temple and people: bargaining with the soldiers who waited on them, to give so much money for so long abiding there, and if they exceeded the time, they must give more; so that as St. Jerom saith, they that bought Christ's blood, were then glad to buy their own tears.

It is the usual method of Divine Justice to correct first with rods, then with scourges, and if that will not do, with scorpions; the Jews felt all these three degrees, and never was any people on earth made greater examples of God's wrath than this his own chosen inheritance, a peculiar people, that might have claimed the right hand of primogeniture of mankind. And if we consult the grounds of these dismal disasters, we may observe, their proud, seditious, rebellious spirits were more fatal to them than their implacable adversaries, and that though they were guilty of many flagitious crimes, yet their rejecting and crucifying the Lord of life and glory, was the principal cause of their terrible extermination; for after this tremendous act, nothing ever prospered with them; and if there were no other motive for the Jews conversion, the length of these heavy judgments under which they groan to this very day, were enough to convince them that Jesus is the Christ; yea some of their Rabbies and Doctors are very much puzzled, and will stare and shrink their shoulders, and sometimes break out into a kind of confession, *That certainly these severe afflictions could never have continued so many ages, but for crucifying one that was more than a man;* which together with the punctual accomplishment of our blessed Saviour's prediction of the utter desolation of their city, temple, and nation, might enlighten the minds of any but that stiff-necked and hard-hearted generation, and satisfy them that Jesus of Nazareth hath no other to stand in competition with him, or that can have the title, dignity, or office of the Messiah appropriated to him; for though there have been some false Messias, or pretenders to this dignity, yet they are disclaimed by the Jews themselves, as seducers and causes of great misery to their people and nation;

nation; of which sort were Theudas, and Judas of Galilee, Bencozbi afore-named, and some others since; as in the reign of Theodosius the second, one Moses of Crete acted the part of a False Saviour upon the stage of the world, giving out that he was a second Moses, and a prophet like unto him that God had sent from heaven, and that he would lead all the Jews from the isle of Crete through the sea to Palestine dry shod: The promises of this bold impostor wherewith he daily sed the Jews for a year together, so far prevailed upon many of them, that leaving the towns and cities where they inhabited, they followed him, being persuaded he would conduct them to the promised land; at an appointed time great multitudes of men, women, and children repair to him, whom he brings to an high cliff, or promontory hanging over the sea, at his command many cast themselves down, some of which were drowned, others were saved by christian fishermen, who dissuaded them what they could from so mad and murderous an attempt; the Jews finding themselves deluded, thought to lay hands on the deceiver, but the false Moses, as if he had been a true evil, was gone and vanish'd they knew not whither; this occasioned many Jews to embrace the christian religion, and to leave that way of Judaism, which was subject to such dangerous and costly deceits.

In the year 1135, one David Etroi, or David and David, declared that he was the Messiah, and that God had sent him to deliver his people Israel. The king of Persia, in whose dominions he was, seiz'd upon him, but he being a cunning magician freed himself, and did many pranks to the great intraging of that king against the Jews; they, to prevent the ruin they saw coming upon them by his means, made a great feast for this mock Messiah, and when he was asleep in his drunkenness, cut off his head, and presented it to the king, who thereupon was appeased, and reconciled to them. We read also of one called the king of Thabor, who would needs proclaim himself to be the Messiah, whom Charles the First, emperor of Germany, caused to be burnt; and Maimonides reckons up four other false Christs that did rise among the Jews in Spain and France, who brought great

great misery upon themselves and followers; to which may be added the famous impostor at Smyrna in 1666, of which you have an account at the latter end of this book; by all which it is undeniably evident, there is none who with any colour of probability can be supposed to be the Messiah but our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.



III. *Probable Conjectures of what is become of the Ten Tribes which were carried Captives, and transplanted by the Assyrians.*

THE Jewish nation being dispersed, and removed out of their own land by the ten captivities afore-mentioned; the present Jews are of opinion that the tribe of Benjamin are those who now are settled in Italy, Poland, Germany, the Turk's dominions, and all the eastern parts of the Mediterranean; the tribe of Judah they believe are settled in Portugal and Barbary, and affirm that some thousand families of that race are there, whom they dispense withal, to make a semblance of christianity, as far as to be Romish priests; and many, for fear of the papal inquisition, can join themselves to a crucifix and rosary, and upon occasion have again resumed their own religion in places where they were out of danger; one of them affirming, that his compliance was only the work of his nerves and muscles, and that his anatomy told him nothing of the heart was therein concerned. They say their Messiah is to come from Portugal, which they discourse of with much warmth and pleasure, and therefore teach their children, and expound the law in that language in their synagogues.

But as to the ten tribes who were led captive by Shalmaneser, king of Assyria (in the year of the world 3280, and about 720 years before the birth of our Saviour) and were carried beyond the river Euphrates, mentioned 2 Kings, chap. 17. The generality of the present Jews say, they know not what is become of them; yet several inquisitive

Christians

Christians being very desirous of the conversion of that nation from their obstinate unbelief, have made divers conjectures of the countries whereunto these ten tribes were carried by the Assyrians. Among others Dr. Fletcher, who was Agent for Queen Elizabeth, to the Emperor of Russia, is of opinion they may be found among the Tartars, the word Tartar, in the Syrian tongue, signifying remnants or remainders: for which he renders several reasons, from the observations he made during his residence some years among the Russes.

As 1. From the place whither they were transplanted, which was into the cities of Media, which is situated about the Caspian sea, containing a very large territory, now possess'd by the Tartars, and by the consent of all historians that have written of the Assyrian and Persian Monarchy, they have resided there ever since the reign of Cyrus, who after he had obtained the kingdom, did first invade these Scythian shepherds, or Tartar people, about two hundred years after the Israelites were carried thither, who were grown by that time a great and warlike people, and made a general defection from the Assyrians in the tenth year of Esarhaddon: and being united in one community, they disdained to mix with other people.

2. Their towns and cities had the same or like names with the antient towns and cities of the Israelites: Their metropolis, or chief city, though now deformed with many ruins, is Samarchian, which travellers report hath many Jewish monuments, where the Great Tamerlain carried about Bajazet the Turkish emperor in an iron cage. This name differs no more from Samaria (the seat and chamber of the kings of Israel) than many other cities in the world do, by the several pronunciations of different nations: They have also mount Tabor, a city called Jericho, Corazin, and several other places mentioned in scripture. These Tartar cities are inhabited by so many, as are sufficient to defend them from the hostility of the Persians and other borderers. But the greater part, who are commonly called Scythian shepherds, seldom come into any city or standing houses but in winter time; abiding in tents or walking
D houses

houses, carried upon wheels like carts or waggons. These in summer time, when the grass is grown for forage, march with their flocks and herds north and north-east from the south-east parts, where they continue all the summer in distinct hoards or armies, under the conduct of the princes and vicegerents, constituted by the great Cham their emperor, and graze along by the way as they go till they come to the next stage or resting place, where they encamp their waggon-houses in the form of a great city, with many streets and avenues, continuing there till their cattle have eat up all. Thus they proceed by short stages till they arrive at the farthest point toward the north, and then return toward the south and east parts another way, where their cattle have fresh pasturage, and so retiring by easy journeys before winter, they arrive again into the south-east countries, near the Caspian sea, in a more mild and temperate climate, where they remain all the winter within their cities or cart-houses set together in form of a vast town, till the approaching spring invites them to go to their former progress.

3. They are distinguished into several hoards and tribes, united under one government, and communicable in all things but intermarrying, to avoid confusion of kindreds, except the publick defence or safety make it necessary for them to join together as one people. And this division of tribes without commixion, which was observed by no other nation but the Jews, is still most religiously continued among the Tartars.

4. The number of their tribes is the same, which are ten in all, no more nor less than the Israelites, from one of which it is supposed the Turks have their original.

5. The Tartars have a tradition from their ancestors, that they had their pedigree from the Israelites who were transplanted near the Caspian or Hircan sea, from which tradition it is reported, that Tamerlain the Great would boast himself, that he was descended from the tribe of Dan.

6. Though the Tartar language be yet unknown, because they live as a savage people, without society or commerce with other nations, suffering none to come within them ;
yet

yet the Russes affirm that their language hath many Arabick words, and is not much different from the Turkish tongue, which many travellers observe has much affinity with the Hebrew.

Lastly, The Tartars are circumcised, as were the Israelites and Jewish people. As for the other two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, which for their notable infidelity and contempt of the Son of God, were massacred, dispersed, and captivated by the Romans, it is well known both where they are and how they live, not distinguish'd by their tribes, nor yet united into one policy or community, but diffused in small numbers, and deprived of all, save their name, which they retain rather for a reproach than an honour, being thereby noted by other nations to be that people whom God had rejected for their infidelity.

If it be objected, that it is a thing unworthy and unbecoming the great mercy of God to this people, whom he vouchsafed to chuse out of all the nations of the world, to be his peculiar, to suffer them to degenerate into Tartars, who are esteemed the most vile and barbarous people upon earth. It may be answered, That it may well consist with that most holy and perfect justice, to abase so wicked and so rebellious a people against their God, as the Israelites were, and to cast them from the highest heaven to the lowest centre of dishonour.

Others conjecture that the first inhabitants of America were the ten tribes of the Israelites, whom the Tartars conquered and drove away. After which, by God's providence, they hid themselves behind the vast mountains of Cordillæræ. And that as they were not captivated at once, but in the reigns of several of their kings. As you have already heard, so they were also scattered into divers provinces, as America, Tartary, China, Media, to the Sabbatical-River, and into Ethiopia; of this opinion was Manasseh Ben Israel, an Hebrew divine and philosopher, who resided in England in 1650, and was a chief agent for admitting the Jews into this nation, to the then governing power. He then publish'd a book, called, *The Hope of Israel,*

rael, wherein he gives many relations to fortify his conjecture, particularly that of Aaron Levi, in 1644.

This Aaron Levi (saith he) gave the following account to me, and other eminent Portuguese at Amsterdam, at the time aforesaid, That about two years before, he going from port Honda, in the Spanish West-Indies in America, to conduct some mules of an Indian, named Castellan, into the province of Quity, in company with other Indians, among whom one was called Francis Cazicus: a great tempest happened as they passed over the mountains Cordillerae, which threw the loaden mules to the ground, the Indians complained of their great losses by the storm, yet confess'd that they deserved greater punishments than this for their many heinous crimes. Francis bid them be patient, since they should shortly enjoy rest: they replied, they were unworthy of it, and that the barbarous cruelty of the Spaniards toward them was sent of God, because they had so ill treated his holy people, who were of all the most innocent. They then concluded to tarry all night on the top of the mountain, and Aaron Levi took out of a box some bread, cheese, and junkets, and gave them to Francis, upbraiding him that he had spoken disgracefully of the Spaniards: who answered, That he had not told one half of the miseries and calamities they had suffered from that inhuman nation, but that they should be revenged of them by the help of an unknown people.

After this Aaron Levi went to Carthagena, where he was for sometime imprisoned, but being at length released, and much affected with what he had heard from Francis, from whence he began to imagine that the Hebrews, or Jews, were those innocent people which the Indian had mentioned. He resolved to return to Honda and find him out; which having happily effected, he asked the Indian whether he remembered what he had spoken upon the mountain? who replying, yea very perfectly, Aaron thereupon engaged him to take a journey with him, giving him three pieces of eight to buy him necessaries. When they were got out of the city, Aaron confess'd himself to be an Hebrew, of the tribe of Levi, and that the Lord was his God, and all other
Gods.

Gods were but mockeries. The Indian being amazed, asked him the name of his parents? He answered, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. But said Francis, Have you no other father? he replied, Yes, his father's name was Ludovicus Montezicus. I am glad of that, said the Indian, for I was in doubt to believe you while you seemed ignorant of your parents. Aaron swearing that he spake the truth, the Indian ask'd him if he were not the son of Israel? who affirmed he was, desiring Francis more fully to explain himself. After which, having sat down and refresh'd themselves, the Indian thus began :

If you have a mind to follow me your leader, you shall know whatever you desire, only I must tell you that whatsoever the journey is, you must go it a foot, and eat nothing but parched Maiz, and Indian corn, and omit nothing that I require of you. Aaron consented to all; next day, being Monday, Francis bid him throw away what he had in his knapsack, and put on a pair of shoes made of packthread, and follow him with his staff. Whereupon Aaron leaving his cloke, sword, and other things about him, they began their journey, the Indian carrying on his back three measures of Maiz, two ropes, one full of knots with a hooked fork, to climb up the mountains. The other was to pass over marshes and rivers, with a little ax, and shoes made of linnen packthread. They being thus rigg'd travelled the whole week 'till the Sabbath-day, on which resting, the next day they went on, and on Tuesday, about eight in the morning, they came to a large river. Then said the Indian, Here you shall see your brethren, and making a sign with a red linnen cloth, which he wore instead of a girdle, thereupon they saw a great smoak on the other side of the river, and soon after, upon such another sign as they had made before, three men and a woman came rowing toward them in a little boat, and being come near, the woman went ashoar (the rest staying in the boat) and talked a long while with the Indian, in a language which Aaron understood not: She then returned to the boat, and told the three men what she had learn'd of the Indian. The men always eying Aaron Levi, came presently out of the boat, and

and embraced him, the woman, after their example, doing the like. After which one of them went back to the boat, and when the Indian bowed down to the feet of the other two, and of the woman, they raised him up and embraced him very courteously, talking a great while with him. After this, the Indian bid Aaron be of good courage, and not expect that they should come again to him till he had fully learn'd those things that they would tell him at the first time. Then those two men standing on each side of Aaron, uttered in Hebrew the fourth verse of Deutonomy the sixth, *Hear O Israel, The Lord our God is one God.* And then added what follows, making a short pause between every particular.

1. Our fathers are Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Israel. *These four they signified by holding up three fingers, and then added Reuben, by adding another finger.* 2. We will bestow several places on them that will live with us. 3. Joseph dwells in the midst of the sea. *Making a sign with two fingers put together, and then parting them.* 4. *Speaking fast they said.* Some of us will go forth to see, and to tread under foot. *At which word they winked and stamped with their feet.* 5. One day we shall all of us talk together, and we shall come forth as issuing out of our mother the earth. 6. A certain messenger shall go forth. 7. Francis shall tell you more of these things. *They making a sign with their finger that much must not be spoken.* 8. Suffer us that we prepare ourselves. *Then turning their faces every way they prayed,* O God do not stay long. 9. Send twelve men. *Making a sign that they would have men with beards, and who were skilful in writing. come to them.*

This conference being ended, the same men returned on Wednesday and Thursday, and repeated the same things without adding a word. At length Aaron being concerned that they did not answer what questions he asked them. nor would suffer him to go over the river, he threw himself into their boat, but being forced out again he fell into the water, and was in danger of being drowned, for he could not swim, but being got out, they seemed angry with him for his rash attempt, and for being too inquisitive to know

more

more than they had told him, which they signified by signs and words, as the Indian interpreted them to Aaron. When these four were gone, four more came back in the same boat, who all, as with one mouth, rehearsed the nine fore-mentioned particulars, without adding a word, and in the three days which they continued there, about three hundred came and returned. These men were somewhat scorched by the sun, some wore their hair down to their knees, others shorter, they had comely bodies, well cloathed with ornaments on their feet and legs, and a linnen cloth wound round their heads.

Aaron said, that when he designed to be gone on Thursday-evening, they were extream kind, furnishing him with all necessaries for his journey back again, intimating that they were well provided with meat, cloaths, cattle, and all other conveniences. Having taken their leaves of these courteous strangers, Aaron and his Indian arrived at the place where they had rested the night before they came to the river; you remember, Francis, said Aaron, that my brethren told me you should discover something to me; I would therefore intreat you to be so kind as to relate it. The Indian replied, I will tell you the truth of what I know, as I have received it from my fore fathers, but if you press me too earnestly you will make me utter lies: attend therefore I pray to what I shall speak.

Thy brethren are the sons of Israel, and were brought hither by the Providence of God, who for their sakes wrought so many miracles, that you will scarcely believe the account of them that I have learn'd from my fathers. We Indians made war upon them, and used them more severely than we are now handled by the Spaniards, and by the instigation of our magicians, whom we call Mohanes; we went armed to that place where you saw your brethren, with an intent to dismay them, but not one of those who went thither came back again: Whereupon we raised a great army and set upon them again, but with the same success; for none escaped, which happened also the third time, so that India was almost bereft of all its inhabitants but old men and women; the old men therefore, and the rest who

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survived, believing that the magicians use false dealing, resolved and consulted to destroy them all; and many being killed, those who remained promised to discover somewhat that was not known; upon this the old men desisted from slaying them, and the magicians declared as follows,

That the God of the children of Israel, whose destruction they had occasioned, is the true God, that all that which is engraven upon their stone tables is true, that about the end of the world they shall be Lords of the whole earth; that some should come who would bring them much good, and after they had enriched the earth with all good things, those children of Israel going forth out of their country, should subdue all nations under them, as their ancestors subdued their enemies, and that they would be happy if they could make a league with them.

Hereupon five of the chief Indians, whom they call Cazici, and who were my ancestors, having understood the prophecy of the magicians, which they had learned of the wise men of the Hebrews, went thither, and after much entreaty obtained their desires, having first made known their mind to that woman whom you saw was my interpreter, for your brethren will have no commerce with Indians, and if any of ours enter into their country, they instantly kill them; neither do any of your brethren pass into our country: Now by the help of that woman we made this agreement with them.

1. That our five Cazies should come to them without any other company at the end of every seventy months.

2. That he to whom any secrets should be revealed should be above the age of three hundred moons, or months, that is, near thirty years old.

3. That they would discover nothing in the presence of any but the Cazici alone, and in a desert: This secret, said the Indian, we keep among ourselves, hoping for great favours from them, and in requital of the good offices we have done for many of their people, but it is not lawful for us to visit them till after seventy months, unless some new or very strange accident occur; and this fell out thrice in my time.

First, When the Spaniards came into their land.

Secondly, When some ships were discover'd in the southern sea ; and

Lastly, When you arrived, whom they had long wish'd for and expected.

They rejoiced much for these three new things, because they said several prophecies were fulfilled ; here the Indian concluded his discourse.

Aaron Levi likewise said, that three other Cazici were sent to him by Francis to Honda, who heartily embraced him, but would not tell their names ; they asked Aaron what nation he was, who answered, an Hebrew of the tribe of Levi, and that God was his God : Whereupon they again embraced him, and said, the time will come when you shall see us, and shall not know us ; we are all your brethren by God's singular favour ; then bidding him farewell, they departed, saying, we go about our business ; the Indian being left behind, he, after having saluted Aaron, took his leave also, saying farewell, my brother, I have other things to do, I go to visit thy brethren, with other Hebrew Cazici, who are secure in this country, for we rule all the Indians, and after we have finished our business with the wicked Spaniards, we will bring you out of your bondage by God's help ; not doubting but that he who cannot lie will assist us according to his word and promise.

This Aaron Levi (saith Rabbi Manasseh Ben Israel) who gave the preceding relation, being a Jew of our order, born of honest parents at Villefleur in Portugal, a man of about forty years old, honest, and not ambitious, deserves to be credited in what he says, above many others ; he went to the Indies, where he was put into the inquisition as a successor of a Jew in Portugal, whom Don Manuel the king forced without law or religion to turn Christian, who yet to this day privately practice their religion. Being freed out of the inquisition, he diligently enquired into these things, and was not quiet till he came to Amsterdam to tell the good news ; I myself was well acquainted with him for six months that he dwelt here, and I sometimes made him take an oath, in the presence of honest men, that what

he told was true ; and two years after, he took the same oath on his death-bed.

The same author adds several other relations to prove the probability of the Jews being the first inhabitants of America, being driven thither by the fury of their enemies.

Eldrafs says, that the ten tribes which Salmanazer carried captive (in the reign of Hoshea) beyond Euphrates, determined to go into countries far remote, in which none dwelt, whereby they might the better observe their law ; and that as they passed over some branches of Euphrates, God wrought miracles, stopping the course of the flood 'till they were gone over. From whence it may be gathered, that the ten tribes went to New Spain and Peru, and possessed those two kingdoms, which were then without inhabitants ; to which they might arrive, by going out of Tartaria into Greenland, and from thence, by the Streights of Daris, or Arrian, unto America, it being not above fifty miles from thence : And La Voga, a famous Spanish author writes, That in Collai, an eminent province in the West-Indies, near a lake called by the Spaniards Chuta, among other antiquities and great buildings there, a stately fabrick is to be seen, which hath a court fifteen fathoms broad, a wall that compasseth it two furlongs high, on one side is a chamber forty-five foot long, and twenty-two broad ; and that the court, the wall, the pavement, the chamber, the roof, the portal, the pillars of the two gates of the chamber, and of the entrance, are made only of one stone ; the three sides of the wall are an ell thick. The Indians say this house is dedicated to the maker of the world, and is judged to have been a synagogue built by the Israelites, since the Indians never knew the use of iron, wherewith this building was joined together. Other Indians being asked about it, declared that their fathers told them it was erected by a people who were white, and bearded like the Spaniards, that came thither a long while before the Indians inhabited there, and continued some time after, 'till they were driven further north, into this large new world.

The Indians retain many Hebrew customs, which it is thought they learn'd from the Israelites, for in many places
they

they circumcise themselves, they rend their garments upon some sudden misfortunes, or the death of any; they kept fire continually burning upon their altars in their temples dedicated to the sun, and forbid women to enter into them till they were purified; every fifty years they celebrated a jubilee at Mexico, the metropolis of Peru, with great pomp; every seventh, or sabbath-day, all persons were obliged to be present in the temple, to perform their sacrifices and ceremonies; they were divorced from their wives in case of incontinency, they married the widows of their dead brethren; they had also some knowledge of the creation of the world, and of the universal flood; all these instances seem to demonstrate that these Gentiles learned these things from the Jews that lived in those places.

Furthermore, the Indians are of a brown colour, and without beards, but in the new world white and bearded men were found, who had never commerce with the Spaniards. And the Emperor Charles the Fifth, sending Phippus Utre to discover and plant the northern region of America; and having learned of their neighbours, the greatest of that people who were the present inhabitants, both in wit and war, he determined to make a conquest of them; who when he had marched many hundred miles, at last came toward a rich city, full of people, and fair buildings, and not far off saw two husbandmen tilling the ground, whom his soldiers designed to have made prisoners, to have been guides to them: The men perceiving themselves betet, fled apace toward the city; Philip Utre and his horsemen pursued them hard, and had almost taken them; whereupon the husbandmen stood still, and with their spears wounded Philip in the breast, piercing through his breast-plate made of wool to keep off arrows; he wondering at the dexterity of the people, judged it his wisest course not to proceed any further in that province against a nation so expert in war, and who only with a spear durst to resist armed men; and whereupon retired the same way he came; and to this day none go to that people; neither is it known which way to come thither: A Spanish poet describing this territory says,

*Some countries there so populous are seen
As one continued city; which have been
Never as yet discovered, but unknown
To other nations, have lain hid alone:
Not found by foreign sword, nor foreign trade,
Do either seek or suffer to be made.
But unacquainted live, 'till God shall please
To manifest his secrets: Shew us these.*

Again, Pizano, the Spanish captain, having revolted from his nation, went to search out new countries of the Indians, who lived north-eastward, whose number could never be known, because it is reported to extend above two thousand miles in length; Peter Osna, another captain, went with some soldiers up a great river in canoes, and at length came to a large plain, where many houses were built on the water-side by the Indians; they still went on for forty-eight hours together, and saw a great number of tall white houses, which they feared to go into, because the inhabitants were numerous, and a noise of hammers, thought like goldsmiths. The Indians, said the people, were tall of stature, comely in presence, with as great beards, and as valiant and warlike as the Spaniards.

Eight other Spaniards, after nine months travelling north-westward in America, came to a mountain, to whose top they arrived with difficulty, from whence they discovered a plain encompass'd with a pleasant river, on the banks whereof dwelt a people who were white, and bearded; and in the reign of the late king Philip the Third of Spain, five ships were sent from Panama to discover some unknown lands in America. The captain was scarcely entered into the South-sea but he found land, which he called the islands of Solomon and Jerusalem.

In his course of sailing he kept close to the shoar of these isles, and saw the natives, who were of a brown colour, and took many, others dwelt in greater and more fruitful islands; these were white men, and wore long garments of silk: The pilot bringing one of the ships too near the shoar, she was split upon a rock, the islanders running greedily to see the

the fight: The captain leaving this island, went further on to discover the main land; and having sailed about an hundred leagues in sight of the shoar, he perceived by the smoak that the country was inhabited; whereupon, entering one of their ports, many white men with yellow hair came to the ship's side, they were tall like giants, richly cloathed, and had long beards. But another of his vessels being wreck'd in the haven's mouth, he was forced to put again to sea. Whereupon the natives sent two Chalosti or principal men to him, who were brown (like those of the first island) with sheep, fruit, and other provisions, which they freely bestowed upon them; but withal, strictly charged them to depart from their coasts at their peril. The captain brought these two christians into Spain, yet could learn nothing of them but by signs, and instead of answers (when they were asked) they would shew their beards, as if their lords that sent them were such kind of men: And if they were questioned about religion, they held up their fingers to heaven, implying that they worshiped but one God. In a little while they died in Spain, and so did the captain, who designed by the king's command, to have made a second voyage with a great army, for subduing this potent people.

Lastly, A Dutch mariner lately sailing near these countries, put into an harbour in a pleasant river, where he found some Indians who understood Spanish, of whom he bought provisions, and dye wood; by whose directions he sailed two months up a large river, where he met with white men bearded, well cloathed, and abounding with gold, silver, and many precious stones, having no commerce with the Spaniards. By this account they were thought to be Israelites, and some Jews designed to have sent him again to the same place, to enquire more fully into the matter, but his death, which happened soon after, prevented all future discovery,

By the preceding relations, Rabbi Manasseh endeavours to make it probable, that part of the ten tribes are seated in America; and somewhat to corroborate his conjectures, I cannot but give an account of what Mr. William Pen writes

writes concerning the native of Pensilvania, which is a part of America, lately inhabited by the English, and under his government.

For their original (saith he) I believe them of the Jewish race, and of the stock of the ten tribes ; for,

First, They were to go to a land not planted, nor known, which to be sure Asia and Africa were, if not Europe ; and he that intended that extraordinary judgment upon them, might make the passage not uneasy to them, from the east parts of Asia, to the west of America.

Secondly, I find them of like countenance, and their children of so lively resemblance, that a man would think himself in Duke's-Place, in London, (where the Jews inhabit.)

Thirdly, They agree in rites and ceremonies, they reckon by moons, offer their first fruits, have a kind of feast of tabernacles, are said to build their altars with twelve stones, whereon they sacrifice the first and fattest buck they have ; their mourning a year, their customs about women, with many other things, are very consonant to the Jewish law. He adds, that their language is very lofty, and much like the Hebrew ; that they believe a God, and immortality, for they say there is a great king that made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the southward of them, and that the souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again.

To proceed, Manasseh Ben Israel says, that the ten tribes being conquered at several times, we may suppose they were carried into several parts of the world, and as he believes some went to the West Indies from Greenland, by the Streight of Arrian, to others might go out of Tartary into China, by that famous wall in the confines of both. One argument is taken from the relation of two jesuits, who erected their colleges in those countries, and declare that they found the Jews came in former times into these kingdoms ; and that a certain Jew coming to one of the jesuits, named Dr. P. Riccius, at Pequín, and having read in a book written by a Chinese doctor, that the jesuits were not Turks, and knew no other God but the Lord of heaven and earth,

earth, he would have persuaded him that he did profess the law of Moses ; and going to the jesuits church, he saw here the picture of the Virgin Mary, and the child Jesus in her arms, and St. John the Baptist worshipping of her : Whereupon the Jew thinking it was the effigies of Rachel and her two sons, Jacob and Esau, he bowed also to the image, but with this apology, that though he worshiped no images, yet he could not but honour those who were the fore-fathers of the Jewish nation ; and seeing the Four Evangelists painted on each side of the altar, he ask'd if they were not four of the twelve sons of Jacob. From him P. Riccius understood that there were ten or twelve families of Israelites in Pequín, where they had built a very neat synagogue, in which their fore-fathers and themselves have kept the five books of Moses with great veneration for six hundred years past. He affirmed that in Chequin, another province of China, there were a great number of Jews, and a synagogue, who knew nothing of the coming and suffering of Jesus Christ, and therefore are thought to be of the ten tribes, and observe many Jewish ceremonies.

In the history of Persia we find, that in the reign of the emperor Zeno, Firuz made a double war with the tribe of Naphthali, in which it was at length destroyed ; for being brought into unknown streights and passages, without hope of extricating himself, he obtained peace, upon condition that he should swear never for the future to attempt anything against them, and that he should do reverence to the conquering commander of Naphthali, in token of subjection ; the Persian general was forced to submit to these terms, but by the council of the magicians, he performed his submission craftily, for he bowed toward the eastern an, whom the Persians worship, that his own people might suppose it done in way of worship, and not to honour his enemy ; neither did he perform the other part of his agreement, though confirmed by letters patents, for not willing the disgrace of bowing to his enemy, he raised a new army and marched against them ; but being a second time entrapped by the difficulties of the country, he lost his life, and many with him, in a gulph which the Naphthalites

lites had prepared for him, by covering it over with reeds and earth on the top. The treaty of peace was hung upon a spear at a distance, that this perfidious prince might see it, and thereby remember his oath, repent, and desist from his desperate enterprize, but he utterly disregarded it, and came on furiously, 'till at length himself, and the greater part of his forces fell into that deep ditch, from whence there was no redemption. When by his unexpected fall he saw that he must perish, he pull'd off from his right ear, a pearl of vast bigness and whiteness, and threw it a great way from him, either to hinder his corps from being known or else to prevent any after him from enjoying so precious a jewel. These our author affirms to be Jews, and relicks of the tribe of Naphthali, whom Tiglath Pileser, the Assyrian, carried into those places, 2 Kings xv. 29. Their countenance, which is white, their government, manners, and many other circumstances confirming the same.

Ortelius, the great geographer, writes, that in the country of Tabor, adjacent to Persia, there dwell a people who though they have lost the holy writings, yet obey one king whose brother, called David the Reubenite, came into Portugal in 1530. (having seen India in his passage) where he perverted the king's secretary to Judaism, who fled from Lisbon with him, calling himself Selomah Molho; He in a short time was so well versed in the Jewish law, yea, the cabala, or secret mysteries thereof, that he made all Italy admire him. The secretary, together with the Reubenite, endeavoured to draw the Pope, Charles V. emperor of Germany, and Francis, the first king of France to Judaism. Molho was taken at Mantua, and burnt alive in 1540. yet was offered his life if he would have again turned christian. The Reubenite was by Charles V. carried prisoner into Spain, where he shortly after died. This David constantly affirmed that two tribes of Israel were there, and other tribes a little farther under their own kings and princes, and were an unspeakable number of people. Perhaps the province of Tabor is the same with that of Habor mentioned, 2 Kings xvii. where it is said that the ten tribes were brought by Salmanassar to Habor and Halah.

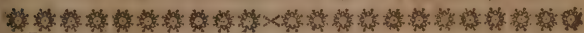
Part of the ten tribes also live in Ethiopia, in the Abyssinian kingdom, as divers of that country reported at Rome, and Roderus relates that two potent nations dwell near the head of the river Nilus, one of which are Israelites, who are govern'd by a mighty king. From whom it is supposed the Abyssinians learned circumcision, the observation of the sabbath, and other Jewish rites, and without doubt (saith my author) they also dwell in Media, for Josephus writes that all Israel dwelt in Media, for two tribes only settled in Asia and Europe, and lived subject to the Romans. And the other ten live on the other side of the Euphrates, where they are very numerous. And this king Agrippa seem'd to believe as a thing certain, when in an oration to the people of Jerusalem, to persuade them from rebelling against the Romans he thus speaks, *What associates (says he) do you expect to join with you in your rebellion and war? Doth not all the known world pay tribute to the Romans? Perhaps you hope for help from them beyond Euphrates.*

Lastly, (My author says) all think that part of the ten tribes dwell beyond the Sabbatical-river, which is said to be about the Caspian sea, of which the testimony of Josephus is famous, *The emperor Titus (saith he) passing between Arca and Raphanea cities of King Agrippa, he saw the wonderful river, which though it be swift yet it is dry on every seventh day, and that day being past, it resumes its ordinary course as if it had no change, and it always observes this order. It is called sabbatical from the solemn feast of the Jews, because it imitates their rest every seventh day, on which God himself rested after the creation of the world.* This river runs all the week with such swiftness and impetuosity, that it carries away with it the very sand and stones, which is the cause that the tribes who live beyond it remain shut up and cannot discover themselves. For though on the seventh day the river doth rest and is quiet, yet it is forbidden to the Jews to take a journey on that day. And for that reason they have remained there miraculously concealed for so many ages. Neither is this so strange, since there are many things which we know, and yet can give no account of their original: Are we not at this day ignorant of the heads

of the four capital rivers, Nilus, Ganges, Euphrates, and Tygris, and many large countries are yet undiscovered. Yea some are unknown by being placed beyond mountains. So it happened in the reign of Ferdinando and Isabella, about 1400. that some Spaniards were found out by accident at Batneca, about ten miles from Salamanca in Spain to which place they fled when the Moors possessed Spain, and dwelt there eight hundred years without being discovered. Furthermore, as to the Sabbatical-river, I heard it from my father (saith Manasseh Ben Israel, and fathers do not use to impose upon their sons) that there was an Arabian at Lisbon in Portugal, who had an hour-glass fill'd with the sand taken out of the bottom of this river, which ran all the week till the sabbath, and then ceased, and that every Friday in the evening this Arabian would walk through the streets of this city, and shew this glass to the Jews who counterfeited christianity, saying, *Ye Jews shut up your shops, for now the sabbath comes.* I should not speak of these glasses (saith he) but that the authority of my father has great power over me, and induces me to believe that the miracle was by God.

Let the reader believe what he thinks fit of these relations, which I thought for the strangeness of them not unpleasant to insert. I shall conclude with the consequences which my Jewish author deduces from them, namely, 1. That America, or the West-Indies, were antiently inhabited by a part of the ten tribes, which passed thither out of Tartary, by the streights of Arrian. 2. That the ten tribes are not in any one place, but in many, because the prophets have foretold their return shall be into Palistine out of divers places. 3. That these ten tribes did not return at the building of the second temple. 4. That at this day they retain the Jewish religion. 5. That the prophecies concerning their return to their country are of necessity to be fulfilled. 6. That from all coasts of the world they shall meet in Assyria and Egypt, God preparing an easy, pleasant way, and abounding with all things, as Isaiah saith, chap. xlix. and from thence they shall fly to Jerusalem as birds to their nests. Lastly, That their kingdom shall be no more divided,

vided, but the twelve tribes shall be subject to one prince, who is under the Messiah the Son of David, and that they shall never be driven again out of their land.



IV. *The State of the Jews after their Extermination, and the present Condition of Palestine, &c.*

AFTER the desolation of Jerusalem the Jews were dispersed throughout the world, and especially in Spain, where the emperor Adrian commanded them to dwell; yet found every where so little favour, that having divers times been put to grievous mulcts and ransoms, they were at last quite thrust out of Europe.

The first christian prince that expelled the Jews out of his territories, was that heroick king, Edward I. who was such a fore scourge also to the Scots; and it is thought divers families of those banished Jews fled then to Scotland, where they have propagated since in great numbers: Witness the aversion this nation hath above others to hogs-flesh.

Nor was this their extermination for their religion, but for their notorious crimes; as poisoning of wells, counterfeiting of coins, falsifying of seals, and crucifying of christian children; with other villanies. This happened in the year 1292: And sixteen years after, France followed our example. It was near two hundred years after, that Ferdinand turned them out of Spain; and five years after him, Emanuel of Portugal did the like.

But the countries from whence they were last expelled, were Naples and Sicily, in the year 1539 in other parts of christendom they reside yet in great numbers, as in Germany High and Low; Bohemia, Lithuania, Poland, and Russia; in Italy also they are found, but in no country subject to the king of Spain.

They live very quietly at Rome under the Pope's nose, and St. Mark makes no scruple to entertain them at Venice:

In fundry places of the Ottoman empire they are very numerous ; so that it is thought Constantinople and Theffalonica only, have near twenty thousand.

Asia is full of them, as Aleppo, Tripoly, Damascus, Rhodes, and indeed all places of commerce and traffick ; there are numbers also in Persia, Arabia, and about Cranganor in India.

In Africk, they have their synagogues and lumbards, as in Alexandria, Grand Cairo, Fesse, Trimesen, and divers places in the kingdom of Morocco : There are about one hundred families left in Jerusalem, but the place where they are most unmingled is Tiberias, which the Turks gave to Mendez the Jew, for some signal services ; thither they oft bring or send the bones of their dead friends, who have left large legacies to be there-interred, from other places.

The city of Jerusalem was afterward re-edified by Elius Adrianus, and given to the christians, from whom it was taken by Cosroes, and the Persians, in the year 615, and from them forcibly wrested by Haumar, and the Saracens, in 637. Next it fell into the power of Cutlu Moses, and the Turks, in 1009. under whose oppressions, when it had long groaned, Peter the hermit stirred up the western princes to relieve the distressed christians, whose designs attained their wished effect, under the banner of the victorious prince Godfrey of Bullen, in the year 1099. This Godfrey, for his merits, was to have been invested with the royal wreath of majesty, which he deried, thinking it unfit to wear a crown of gold, where his Saviour had worn a crown of thorns ; yet for the common good he accepted the title ; after whom reigned these christian princes : Baldwin the First ; Baldwin the Second ; Fulk, earl of Anjou ; Baldwin the Third ; Almerick ; Baldwin the Fourth ; Baldwin the Fifth ; Guy of Lusignan, the last king of Jerusalem ; during whose time Saladine, the sultan of Egypt, won the kingdom, which his successors defended against all invasions, 'till the year 1517. when Selimus, the first emperor of the Turks, added the Holy Land, together with Egypt, to his empire : And so the whole country of Palestine, with the city of Jerusalem, are under the dominion of the Turks to this day, and

and is inhabited by some christians (who make a great benefit of shewing the sepulchre of Christ) and of late years also by Moors, Arabians, Greeks, Latins, Turks, Jews, nay I may say, with people of all nations.

The whole land containeth four regions, Idumea, Judea, Samaria, and Galilee. Idumea beginneth at mount Cassius, or as some will, at the lake Sirbon, reaching to the eastward of Judea; the chief cities are Maresa, Rhinocorura, Rapha, Antedon, Ascalon, Azotus, and Gaza. Maresa was the birth-place of the prophet Micah. Near unto this town Judas Macchabeus overthrew Gorgias. Rhinocorura, Rapha, and Antedon, are towns of no great note. Of Ascalon, Sir George Sandis writeth thus in his travels; that it is now a place of no great reckoning, more than that the Turk doth keep there a garrison, venerable heretofore among the heathen for the temple of Dagon, and the birth of Semiramis begotten of the goddess Derceta, who enamoured with the love of a certain youth that sacrificed unto her, and having by him a daughter, ashamed of her incontinency, put him away, and exposed the child to the desarts; and confounded with sorrow, threw herself into a lake replenished with fish, adjoining to the city: This Derceta is said to be that dagon the idol of the Agrotonites, mention'd in the scripture, which signifieth the fish of sorrow: Who had her temple close by the lake, with her image in the figure of a fish, excepting the face, which resembled a woman; but the infant nourished by doves, which brought her milk from the pails of the pastures, after became the wife of Ninus, and queen of Assyria, whereupon she was called Semiramis, which signifies a dove in the Syrian tongue, in memorial whereof the Babylonians did bear a dove in their ensigns, confirmed by the prophecy of Jeremiah, who foretelling of the devastation of Judea, adviseth them to flee from the sword of the dove.

Azotus, where was a sumptuous temple built by the lieutenant to Demetrius; eight miles beyond that stands Acneron, or Ekron, where Belzebub was worshiped, to whom Ahaziah sent to enquire of his health.

Lastly, Gaza or Aza, one of the five principal cities belonging-

longing to the Palestines (called Philistines in scripture.) Gaza signifieth strong, and in the Persian language a treasure, so said to be called by Cambyfes, who invading Egypt, sent thither the riches purchased in that war; it was also called Constantia, by the emperor Constantine, first famous for the acts of Sampson, who lived about the time of the Trojan war, whose force and fortunes are said to have given to the poets their invention of Hercules, who lived not long before him: And it was afterwards famous for two wounds there received by Alexander the Great, and was then counted the chief of Syria.

Also there lieth Joppa, now Jaffa, a famous mart-town, and a good haven; where Jonah took ship to fly to Tarsus, where Peter raised Dorcas from death to life, and where he lying in the house of one Simon a tanner, was in a vision taught the conversion of the Gentiles. This city they report to have been built before the flood. Here reigned Cepheus, the son of Phenix, whose daughter Andromeda was by Perseus delivered from a sea monster, some of whose bones the people had went to shew to strangers, even till the flourishing of the Romans: Here lieth Gath also, the country of the huge giant Goliath.

Judea is the chiefest part of Palestina, and is of the same extent now, as it was when it was the kingdom of Judea; and entertained the two great and puissant tribes of Juda and Benjamin. It lieth between the midland-sea and Lacus Asphaltites, or the Dead-sea, and betwixt Samaria and Idumæa: It took this name from the tribe of Judah, in which lieth the once famous city Jerusalem.

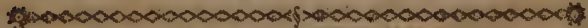
Besides Jerusalem also, there are in this country divers other towns and famous cities; as Jericho, Turris Stratonis, afterward named Cæsarea; Hebron formerly, now Arbea; also Mambre, and Carioth: that is to say, a town of four men, the birth place of Judas Iscariot, who betrayed our Saviour Jesus Christ; Emaus, and divers others; and beyond Jordan, Markherus, a town with a strong castle; here stood the towns of Sodom and Gomorrah, which for their seducy and abomination, were consumed with fire from heaven, and lie now buried in that cursed lake Asphaltites; so named.

named of the bitumen which it vomiteth; called also the Dead-sea, perhaps in that it nourisheth no living creature, or for his heavy waters hardly to be moved with any wind; so extream salt, that whatsoever is thrown thereinto, not easily sinketh: Vespasian, for a trial, caused divers to be cast in bound hand and foot, who floated aloft, as if supported by some spirit. They say, that birds flying over it, fall in, as if enchanted or suffocated with the poison of the ascending vapours. Samaria lieth in the midst, between Judea and Galilee; the land is so called from the metropolis Samaria, built by Omri, king of Israel, and now called Sebastia; the towns in it are Sichem, afterwards Neapolis, Capernaum, Bethsaida, and Chorazin.

Galilea lieth between mount Lebanon and Samaria, and is divided into upper and lower Galilea: Upper Galilea bordered upon Tyrus, called otherwise Galilea Gentium, or the heathenish Galilea; Lower Galilea lieth near unto the lake of Tiberias, and to Nazareth: In it are the towns of Naim, Cana, Nazareth, and Gadara. The Holy Land is seated between two seas, and the river Jordan; it hath within it many navigable lakes and meers, abounding with fish; the river Jordan is called by the Hebrews Jordan, and runneth through the midst of this country, dividing it into two parts. St. Jerome writeth that this river springeth out of two fountains, not far distant one from the other; the one called Jor, the other Dan, shooting out like two horns, which meeting together, make the great river Jordan. The chief mountains in the Holy Land are mount Hermon, lying in the east part thereof, and mount Tabor in the west, both of them being very great and high, so that the other hills about them, are but arms and branches of them: For the mountains Ebal, Betheron, Mispa or Mospoa, and Bethel, are reckoned under mount Hermon, Gilboa, Gerezim, Saron, and mount Carmel by the sea-side, are counted under mount Tabor.

There are also about Jerusalem, mount Sion, Moriah, mount Olivet, mount Calvary, and others; with goodly woods and forests, full of all kind of deer, and many wild beasts.

In this land, especially in and about Jerusalem, there were many stately and magnificent buildings, as namely, *Mons Domus*, and the castle of the Jebusites, into which king David brought the ark of the Lord, where it remained till Solomon's temple was finished. The remainder and ruins of these buildings, are yet to be seen to this day; yea, it is said, that in this very place, the Lord Christ eat the paschal lamb with his disciples: There is also the sepulchres of David and other kings of Judah; and the house of David, which yet retaineth the name of David's-Tower. Upon mount Moriah are to be seen some remainders of Millo. Above all which we must call to mind, is the most excellent and beautiful temple of king Solomon, upon which one hundred and fifty thousand men wrought seven years continually till it was finished. The glory and magnificency thereof you may read in the scripture. The temple of the sepulchre at the first building was highly revered by the christians of those parts, and even until this day, is much resorted to, both by pilgrims from all parts of the Romish church, and by divers gentlemen of the reformed churches; partly for curiosity and partly for the antiquity of the place. It is farmed from the Turk, and kept by the Pope's creatures; whosoever is admitted to the sight of this sepulchre, payeth nine crowns to the Turkish officers: So that this tribute is worth to the Grand Seignior, eight thousand ducats yearly.



V. *Of the Septuagint, or Seventy Jewish Interpreters of the Law of Moses.*

WHEN Alexander the Great, king of Macedon and Greece, had conquered the chiefest part of the then known world, he died a young man, being not above thirty years of age, after whose death his kingdom was divided among four of his principal captains or generals, as it is written, Dan. viii. *His kingdom shall be broken, and four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation.* He left behind him

him a son, of tender years, named Archelaus, whose tutor perceiving him like to be wise and valiant, he gave him a poisoned drink which kill'd him, and then usurp'd his dominions. These four generals made war upon each other, one of whom, called Ptolomeus Philadelphus, resolv'd to have the law of Moses translated into Greek, with intent to raise a quarrel against the Jews, and to draw them from their law and religion; hereupon he appointed seventy ancient Jewish Rabbies to perform the same, whom he shut up apart in a room, every one by himself, that they might have no communication with each other; when they had finished the work, though they altered thirteen places of scripture, yet they agreed so fully in the sense and meaning thereof, as if all had been written by one alone, which may be reckoned to have happened rather by a miracle than anything else. The thirteen places are these,

I. Genesis i. 1. they translated, *God created in the beginning*, &c. putting no word or thing before the name of God, which way is generally used in the Greek tongue, and might prevent the king from taking *Beribeth*, or *the Beginning*, to be the Creator, and *Elohim*, or *God*, for the creature.

II. Genesis i. 26. instead of *Let us*, they translate it, *I will make man after my own image*. I, for We, that it should not be thought there was a plurality of Gods, or that the Almighty consulted with any one therein.

III. Genesis ii. 1. they translated, *And God finished the sixth day, and rested the seventh*; instead of, *And God ended his work which he had made in the seventh day*; sixth for seventh, lest it should seem that he had made any thing on the seventh day, and in it had ended his working.

IV. Genesis xi. 7. they translated, *Gods, I will go down and there confound their language*, instead of, *Let us go down*; lest he should have been thought to have been many.

V. Genesis xviii. 12. they translated, *And Sarah laughed, speaking to them that stood by her*, instead of, *Sarah laughed within herself saying*; lest Ptolomy should mock them, and say how do you know what she said to herself.

VI. Genesis xlix. 6. About Jacob's words to Simeon and Levi,

Levi; they translated them. For in their fury they killed a man, and in their self-will they brake down a wall, instead of kill'd an ox (as it is in the margin of our bibles) that the king might not deride them for turning their revenge against a beast.

VII. Exodus iv. 20. *And Moses took his wife and his sons, and set them upon that that could bear a man*; instead of an *ass*, lest the king should scoff at the great prince and law-giver Moses, because he rode upon an ass (which was very contemptible among the Greeks,) and that he should object how could an ass bear a woman and two children? He would never have been so hard put to it, if he had not been a beggar.

VIII. *Now the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt was 430 years*, Exod. xii. 40. Notwithstanding they abode in Egypt but 210 years, as their father Jacob foretold them, *Descend ye* (the letters of which words in Hebrew signify 210) *thither*; so that the computation of 430 years must commence from the time that Isaac was born, which was the holy seed of Abraham; therefore they translated it, *and the dwelling of the children of Israel in Egypt (and other lands) was 430 years*.

IX. *And unto the little ones of the children of Israel he stretched out his hand*, Exodus iv. *Little-ones* they put for *princes*, lest the king should say the great men escaped, but the children of the sons of Israel were punished.

X. Numb. xvi. 15. *And Moses said I have not taken one ass from them*; this they translated, *I took of them nothing of value*, because Ptolomy might say, though he took not an ass, yet he might take rewards of them of much greater value and price.

XI. Deut. iv. 19. *Lest thou shouldest be driven to worship the sun, the moon, and the stars, even all the host of heaven which the Lord thy God hath divided (or imparted) to all nations under the whole heaven*, they added, *The Lord thy God hath imparted (to shine) upon all nations*; lest he should say the holy and blessed Lord hath divided the sun, moon, and stars to all people, and hath given them license to worship them.

XII. Deutro-

XII. Deutronomy xvii. *And hath gone and served other Gods which I have not commanded*; they added, to worship, lest the king should say, that the Lord did command them to serve some other God besides himself.

XIII. They translated an *Hare*, *Little-feet*, because the king's wife was called Hare, and they might say they mocked him.

When these seventy elders had translated the Jewish law into the Greek tongue, Ptolomy, instead of being offended with them, rejoiced much at their wisdom and unanimity, honouring them with princely apparel, and with gifts, sent them home merry and glad, together with large oblations and offerings to the God of Israel.



A Strange and True ACCOUNT of the late
TRAVELS of two ENGLISH
PILGRIMS,

And what Admirable Accidents befell them in their
Journey to Jerusalem, Grand Cairo, Alex-
andria, &c.

In a LETTER from H. T.

THOUGH it pass for a general proverb, that Travellers may lie by authority, yet knowing the justice of my cause, I thus salute my friends from Jerusalem. Since my departure from Grand Cairo toward the Holy Land, I writ a letter from Rama, (the place where Rachel wept for her children, and would not be comforted;) which with seven others I sent by the caravan of Damascus, to be conveyed

to Constantinople, and thence to England, but doubting they are not arrived there, I thought good by this to relate my travels to Jerusalem, and troubles there, with the memorable antiquities I saw in that city, and elsewhere, 'till my return back to Alexandria.

Departing from Grand Cairo, I came to the place where it is said the Virgin Mary rested with our Saviour, in her flight to Egypt; from thence I, with my fellow traveller Mr. John Bunel, both in our pilgrim's habits, came to the town of Canko, and for want of a better lodging were compelled to lie that night upon the bare ground; next morning we came to a town called Philbets, in the land of Gozan, where we met with a company of Turks, Jews, and Christians, and about seven hundred and fifty camels, all bound for Damascus over the Desert, also twenty-two Greeks and Armenians, designed for Jerusalem, whose company we were glad of; in this town I went to a house where I saw a strange secret of hatching chickens by artificial heat, of which I had seen the like at Grand Cairo, but not in such large numbers; the manner whereof is, that the people of the adjacent countries bring their eggs in great quantities upon asses or camels to this place, where there is an oven or furnace kept temperately warm, the master standing ready at a little door to receive the eggs by tale and measure, which sometimes amounts to forty thousand in a day, and in twelve days end, more or less, they come again to receive their chickens; some ranges contain near two thousand eggs, the fumer taking an account of the names and numbers of every owner; but if he have two hundred thousand at one heat, he mingles them all together, and then lays them in order upon a bed made of camels and pigeons dung burnt, and in an hollow place underneath, about three foot broad, is another layer of the same, under which the fire is made, which yet appears only like ashes, yielding a temperate heat to the next concave; and the heat being resisted by the dung laid upon pieces of withered trees, sends forth an extraordinary vapour, which at length pierces the mix'd earth, and by degrees infuseth warmth and life thro' the shells in ten or twelve days, which when the fumer perceiveth, by
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the breaking of the shells, he begins to gather them, but of an hundred scarce sixty thousand ever come to good; and if it be cloudy, or lighten, thunder or rain, then all are lost and die; but if they be hatch'd in the best manner possible, yet they are always imperfect, having either a claw too much or too little, and very few are in their right shape; when the people come for their chickens, the fumer proportions them according to the success, reserving to himself every tenth chicken for his labour: This art is scarce practicable in England, because the air is seldom clear ten days together.

From hence we proceeded toward the Desert of Arabia, which we must of necessity pass, before our arrival at Jerusalem; parting from Philbits, we travelled all night with the caravan of Damascus, pitching our tents on the borders of the Desert, where we staid two days for fear of the wild Arabs; next day we passed over a great bridge, the water under it being salt, coming out of the sea at Damietta, and cut out by men's labour one hundred and fifty miles into the main land, by Ptolemy, king of Egypt, who designed to make a passage from the Red Sea into the Mediterranean; but being informed that this project would have laid all Egypt under water, he desisted, and built this bridge to pass over, which divideth Arabia from Egypt, and which we had no sooner passed, but were assaulted by the wild Arabs; and though we were above a thousand in company, yet we could not prevent them from carrying off a camel, laden with callicoes, in the night, and wounding four of our men, one mortally, and my fellow-pilgrim Bunei narrowly escaped in the skirmish.

Next day we arrived at a well of brackish water, and from thence came to Carga, one of the three castles built by the Turks, to secure travellers through the Desert against the Arabs; having paid the usual tribute, we proceeded to another brackish well, near the second castle of the Turks, and from thence were guarded by a company of soldiers to the third, called Rachael, travelling twenty-four hours without resting; here it was told us the kings of Egypt and Judea fought many great battles, which we thought improbable.

bable, there being no forrage for an army, but sand and salt-water; having paid another toll, we came to Gaza, in Palestine, a very fruitful country, being now clear of the Desert; in this town they shew the place where Sampson pull'd down the two pillars, and slew himself and the Philistines; and the situation of the country seems to confirm the same. From thence we went to a place called by the Arabians Canne, by the Christians Beerseba, on the borders of Judea; and pitched our tents close under the walls of Ramoth in Gilead; here I staid all day, and wrote eight letters which I sent by the caravan to Constantinople, for England, and the next morning we, with other Christians, set forward for Jerusalem; and rested that night at a place about sixteen miles from Hebron, where the sepulchre of Abraham the patriarch stands, being five short miles from Jerusalem; next day before noon I had sight of the holy city, and thereupon kneeling down, and saying the Lord's Prayer, I gave God most hearty thanks for conducting me to behold with my eyes this renowned place, whereof I had heard and read so much: When I and my companion came within a furlong of the gates, we went all along singing and praising God, 'till we came to the west gate of the city, and there we stay'd, because it is not lawful for a Christian to enter unadmitted; my companion advised me to say I was a Greek, to avoid going to mass, but I not having the Greek tongue, refused, saying, I would neither deny my country nor religion. Whereupon being demanded what we were, Mr. Bunel replied in Greek, that he was a Grecian, and I an Englishman. This gave him admittance to the Greek patriarch, but I was seized and cast into prison, for the Turks absolutely denied that they had ever heard either of my prince or country: Or that they paid any tribute. The father guardian, who is the protector of all Christian pilgrims, chiefly procured my imprisonment, because I protested that I would rather be protected by the Turk than by the Pope or himself, for which contempt he endeavoured to persuade the Turks that I was a spy, and so ought to be put into the dungeon.

But it pleased God my confinement was but short, for that
very

very day I was released, though known to be a protestant, by a very providential accident. It happened that while I staid at Ramoth Gilead afore-mentioned, I went to a fountain to wash my foul linnen, and being earnest about my business, suddenly there came a Moor to me, who taking my cloaths out my hand, and calling me by my name, said he would help me. You need not doubt but I was much amazed to hear myself named in a place so far distant from my country, friends, and acquaintance, which he perceiving, spake thus to me in the Frank tongue. *Why captain, I hope you have not forgot me, for it is not forty days since you set me ashore at Alexandria, with the rest of the passengers which you brought from Algiers, in your ship called the Trojan: And here is another in this caravan whom you likewise brought in company with me, that would not be a little glad to see you.* I ask'd him if he dwelt here? He replied no, but he and his fellow were going in the caravan to Damascus (which they call Sham) and from thence to Bagdat or Babylon, and so to Mecha, to make an hodgee, as they call those who have visited Mahomet's tomb, and that he dwelt in the city of Fesse in Barbary. Having well observed him, I remembered to have seen him in my ship, though one man among the three hundred which I brought from Algiers is not easily known, they being Turk, Moors, Jews, and Christians all together. I desired to see his companion, whom, after he had wash'd my linnen, he called, and him I knew very readily. These two concended that one of them should go with the caravan, and the other accompany me to Jerusalem, which he did with great care and kindness in this strange land, and which I do impute to God's goodness toward me for my deliverance out of the troubles I soon after fell into.

When this Moor saw me imprisoned in Jerusalem, my dungeon being right against the sepulchre of Christ, he wept, but yet bid me take courage, and instantly went to the Basha and Sanjack of the city, before whom he took his oath that I was the master of a ship who had brought three hundred Turks, and Moors into Egypt from Algiers and Tunis, who designed a pilgrimage to Mecha, to visit

Mahomet's tomb. This Moor being a Mahometan, prevailed so much, that coming back, accompanied with six Turks, he called me to the door of the prison, and said that I must come out and go to the house of the Pater-Guardian, and put myself under his protection, and that I should be forced to no religion but my own, except it were only to carry a candle; to which I willingly condescended. And having paid the fees of the prison, I was instantly discharged and brought to the Guardian's monastery. The Pater coming took me by the hand, and bid me welcome, marvelling that I should so much err from christianity, as to put myself rather under the Turks than his protection: I told him I did it to avoid wronging my conscience, by going to mass. He replied, many Englishmen had been there, but being catholicks went to mass: And that they told the Turks, at the entrance of the gates, that they were Frenchmen, for said he, they do not know what you mean by an Englishman. Therefore I would advise any of your countrymen that undertake the like travel to call themselves Frenchmen or Britains when they enter Jerusalem, because either of these are well known to the Turks. He further asked me how old our queen was, and why she did not contribute to the maintenance of the holy sepulchre, as well as other kings and princes, with other frivolous questions which I answered accordingly.

In the evening Mr. John Bunel, who passed for a Greek, came freely to me, yet was confined to this monastery or else must leave the city, for the papists bear such sway, that none must continue there but those who enter themselves under their protection.

Mr. Bunel and I standing together in the court of the monastery, twelve well fed friers came to us, each of them carrying a wax candle burning, and two more for us two. Another frier brought a bason of warm water, mingled with roset and other sweet flowers, and a carpet being spread on the ground, and chairs set for us, the Pater-Guardian came and set us down, giving each a candle. Then came a frier and pull'd off our hose and wash'd our feet. When he began to wash, the other twelve friers began to sing, and

continued so 'till we were washed, and then they went along singing, and we, with the Guardian, came to a chapel in the monastery, where one began a sermon, tending to prove how meritorious it was for us to visit the Holy Land, and see those sacred places where our Saviour's feet had trode: Sermon being ended, they brought us into a chamber where our supper was prepared, which at first we were afraid to eat of, but trusting in God, and their seeming kindness, we fed heartily, supp'd plentifully, and after praising God, were lodged decently.

Early next morning we arose, and having saluted the Pater-Guardian, he appointed us seven friers and an interpreter to shew us all the holy places in the city of Jerusalem, except those in Sepulchra Sancta, for that requir'd a whole day. The first noted place they called the Judicial, then the house of Veronica, and demanding what saint she was, they told us it was she that wiped our Saviour's face as he passed by in his agony: Next we came to the Dolorous-way, as they termed it, which our Lord passed through to his crucifixion. In this street they shew the house of the rich glutton, at whose gate poor despised Lazarus lay. We came next to the place where the soldiers compelled Simon of Cyrene to help our Saviour to bear his cross, and where the people wept, to whom Christ said, *Oh daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me but for yourselves, &c.* Next is shewn the church where the virgin Mary fell into an agony when Jesus passed by bearing his cross. Then we came to Pilate's palace, of which a great arch remains, standing over the highway, and a gallery at the top, with two great windows on each side, into which, they told us, Christ was brought when he was shewn to the Jews, and they desired to have Barabbas saved. At the foot of the stairs is the place where our Lord first took up his cross. Next is the christian church of St. Ann, where they say the virgin Mary was conceived and born. Then the pool where Christ cleansed the ten lepers. Afterward we came to St. Stephen's gate, and were shewed some of the stones wherewith that saint was martyr'd. We then came to the stairs which lead to the Port-Area, or east gate of the temple, built by

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king Solomon upon mount Moria, in which was the Sanctum Sanctorum, or Holy of Holies, and where divers relicks are repositid, but now a Turkish mosque or church is built in the same place.

Thus I spent the second day almost all within the gates of Jerusalem. Next morning, after our devotions and respects to the Pater-Guardian, we hired asses for the friers and interpreter, and rid directly toward Bythinia. By the way we were shewn the place of the fruitless fig-tree which our Saviour curst. Then the castle of Lazarus, whom Christ loved so well, but it lay all in ruins, two walls only remaining. Also we were shewed three old walls of Martha's house, and the stone where the two sisters met our Lord, and told him that Lazarus was dead; and hard by the place where he raised him from death after he was buried three days, and where he was afterward buried when he died, which is kept in good repair by the priests; from hence we rode to mount Olivet, passing through Bethpage, where our Saviour took the ass and colt on which he rode to Jerusalem on Palm-Sunday. At the foot of mount Olivet they shewed where the angel saluted the virgin Mary, and on the top of it, the place from whence our Lord ascended; at the sight whereof the friers commanded us to say five Ave-Maria's, and five Pater-Noster's, but we only repeated the Lord's Prayer, and departed; this is the highest part of mount Olivet, from whence westward we had the prospect of the new Jerusalem; south-west we saw mount Sion, adjoining thereto also the brook of Kedron, the pool of Siloa, the garden wherein our Saviour was in an agony, and was betrayed by Judas, the tombs of Absalom, king David's son, and of Jehosaphat, both in the valley of Gethsemain; full south I saw all Bythinia and Bethpage, from whence we came and north east may be seen Jericho, and the river Jordan, fifteen miles off; south-east is the lake of Sodom and Gomorrah, about one hundred miles long, and eighteen broad; all these places I set with my compass on mount Olivet, where I continued two hours and an half.

Descending westward, we saw the place where St. Pelagia did pennance in the habit of a frier, at which I smiled, and they

they asking the cause, I replied? it was contrary to my creed to believe Pelagia was a saint; they answered they would shew me sufficient proof of it in good authors when I came home at night, but I had neither leisure no desire to be informed; next was the place where our Saviour foretold what judgments would befall the Jews; then where he made the Lord's Prayer, and where the apostles made the creed; further on was the place where our Lord wept over Jerusalem, where the virgin Mary gave the girdle to St. Thomas, and where she prayed for St. Stephen; likewise the church of the virgin Mary, wherein were the sepulchres of herself, her mother Anna, her husband Joseph, and many others; this church standeth at the foot of mount Olivet, built (as they say) by Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great; the friers went into the virgin Mary's sepulchre and said Mass, the while we went to dinner: Here is a fountain of very clear water, and a vault, into which went down, where an extraordinary echo is heard; hence we came to the cave where Judas was when he went to betray his master; and a little further is the garden where our Saviour left his disciples when he was in his agony, commanding them to watch and pray, but found them sleeping; from hence they brought us to the garden where Christ was taken; all these places we saw coming down from mount Olivet, and in the valley of Gethsemane; riding into the town of that name, we saw the sepulchres of Absalom and Jehosaphat, with the brook of Kedron aforementioned, which had then no water, it being only a ditch to carry off the great rains that fall from mount Olivet, and mount Sion, being in the valley between them; here they shew a stone marked with the feet and elbows of Christ, in throwing him down when they seized him, the prints where of they say remain to this day.

Riding from hence we saw the place where St. James the Younger conceal'd himself, and afterward was buried there; then where Zechariah the son of Berachiah was buried, and where the virgin Mary us'd often to pray; thence to the pool of Siloa, where Mr. Bunel and I wash'd ourselves, and were shewn the place where the prophet Isaiah was bur'd

asunder ; then we came to an exceeding deep well, where, they say the Jews preserv'd the holy fire in the time of Nebuchadnezzar ; ascending an hill south of mount Sion, we saw a valley where the apostles conceal'd themselves in an hollow rock or cave ; higher up we came to the burial-place for strangers, which they say the chief-priests purchased with the thirty pieces of silver which Judas returned them after he had betrayed his Lord ; it is called Aceldama, and hath three holes above, and a vent on the side, from the holes at the top they let down the dead bodies about fifty foot deep, I look'd down and saw three corpses lately interred, but smelt such a loathsome stink as made me so sick, that I desired the friers to return home ; we went thence through the valley of Gehemion ; but resting an hour by the way, after having refresh'd myself with a few raisins and olives, which we carried with us, and a little water that I brought from the pool of Siloa, I resolv'd to proceed, and ascending mount Sion, saw the place where St. Peter having denied Christ, and hearing the cock crow went out and wept bitterly ; mounting higher, they shew the house of the virgin Mary, near the temple, and the place where the Jews attempting to take her, she was convey'd away by a miracle ; higher yet we saw Caipha's house, and the prison wherein the high priest detain'd our Saviour ; above this was a little chapel of the Armenians, where, at the high altar, they shew the stone which was upon our Saviour's sepulchre, and removed by the angels, and the pillar whereon the cock stood that crowed when St. Peter denied Christ ; then where our Lord eat his last supper, where the Holy Ghost descended upon the apostles, and where Christ appeared to his disciples eight days after his resurrection, and shewed his wounds to unbelieving Thomas ; and not far off, upon mount Sion, the place where the virgin Mary died, and likewise a place purchased by the Pope from the Turks to bury European christians in, they said that the year before five Englishmen were buried there in one week, which we thought was very strange, unless they were poisoned by the friers.

Hence

Hence we came to the house of Annas the high-priest, of which only two ruinated walls now remain; near it stands an old olive tree, whereto, the friers said, our Saviour was bound, for when he was brought to Annas, he being asleep, his servants would not awake him, so during their stay, they bound him to this tree, and afterward he was carried into the house and examined; departing hence, we came to the south-gate of the city, which also stands on mount Sion (having already review'd the other two gates) and there we saw the churches of St. Thomas and St. Mark, whither St. Peter came when he was deliver'd out of prison by the angel; thence we went to Zebedee's house, and so to a place kept by the Abyssines, and ascending through a dark entry, led by a line or cord, we came to an high place near Sancta Sepulchra, and having paid two pieces of silver, entered another place, where they told me Abraham would have sacrificed his son Isaac: Hence we came to the prison where St. Peter and St. John were, being next door to that wherein I myself was imprisoned; being arriv'd at the north-gate on mount Calvary side, I took good notice thereof, but it being late, we went directly home; this was my third day's progress in and about Jerusalem, being much tired with so often dismounting our asses at every memorable place aforementioned, and saying the Lord's Prayer on our knees.

The next day early, riding out of the west-gate, and passing south, we left mount Sion on the left hand, being shew'd the house of Uriah, and the fountain where Bathsheba wash'd herself when king David espied her off his turret; thence we went to the place where the angel took up Habbakuk by the hair of the head, to carry meat to Daniel in the lion's den, then where the Wise-men saw the star, where the virgin Mary rested herself under a tree between Bethlem and Jerusalem, which they still repair by setting another branch near the root of it; next the house of Elisha the prophet, and his place of repose upon an hill, from whence I saw Bethlem at a distance; thence we went to an old ruinated house, said to be Jacob's, and in a field adjoining they shew the tomb of Rachel his wife; two miles off, in the same field, is a town called Bethetula, inhabited by Christians;

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in this large field Sennacherib encamped when he besieged Jerusalem; near which is the field where the angels brought tidings of great joy to the shepherds; from whence, riding to Bethlem about two miles off, we came to the monastery, wherein were about ten friers, I was kindly received, and brought into the great church, and from thence into a large entry, where seeing Mr. Hugh Staper's name twice set, I put mine between; hence I went down stairs into a vault, where was a chapel built in the place (as we were told) where Christ was born, where he was laid in a manger, and where he was presented with gifts by the three Wise-men: Over this is a great church, where they shew the tombs of divers holy men; on the leads of the church I met with the name of Hugh Stapers again, but of no other Englishman, so I graved my own, then went to drink with the friers; next we saw the place where the virgin Mary conceal'd herself, when search was made to kill the children.

We leaving Bethlehem (after having paid three pieces of gold for our dinners, being eight in company) did then ride to the well where king David's three captains fetch'd him water through the whole host of the Philistines, being not far from Bethlem towards Jerusalem, and hath three places to draw water up; hence we returned to Jerusalem, and paying nine pieces of gold to the Turks, they let us into the place called Sepulchra Sancta, or the Holy Sepulchres; locking the gates after us, where we staid from four in the evening 'till eleven next day. Without the gate I observed at least one hundred lines or strings hanging, and in it a hole big enough to put in a little child, which they told us served to give victuals in for those that lie within the church, who are above three hundred christian men and women that live there continually, and can neither go out nor in but when the Turks open the gates for some pilgrim, and that does not happen sometimes for fourteen days; so these Christians have all their families there, and sheds built of boards for them, and they think it doubtless very meritorious to lie night and day in the sepulchre of Christ. The strings at the gate have each a bell fasten'd at the lodgings, as soon as their servants without bring them any meat, each rings

rings the bell belonging to his family, and they accordingly come and receive their food ; there are christians of several nations in this place, as, 1. Romans, who have the greatest authority. 2. Greeks, who are next in number, yet little better than slaves to the Turks. 3. Armenians, these have been so long in slavery to the Turks, that they have forgot their own language, and perform their devotions in the Arabian tongue. 4. Nestorians, who are great vassals and use the same language. 5. Abyssines, being christians of Prester John's country, or Ethiopia. 6. Jacobites, who are circumcised Christians, and slaves to the Turks. All these Christians by name have purchased several places and conveniences in this church, being about three hundred of all sorts, and they lie there continually, praying after their different manner.

The places where they perform their devotions the friers led us to ; as, 1. The pillar to which our Saviour was bound and scourg'd. 2. Where he was imprison'd during the time his cross was preparing. 3. Where the soldiers divided his garments. 4. Where the holy cross was found by queen Helena, at the foot of mount Calvary, near this place she built a chapel in honour of the same. 5. Where Christ was crowned with thorns ; for the sight of this I was forc'd to pay the Abyssines two pieces of silver. 6. Where the cross being laid on the ground, our Saviour was nailed to it. 7. Where the cross stood on the top of mount Calvary the time he was crucified. 8. The rock that rent at his death, that is cleft as with wedges, from the top almost to the bottom through the midst ; the rent is so great in some places, that a man may hide himself in it, and lessens to the bottom. 9. The place where the three martyrs anointed Christ after he died. 10. Where he appeared to Mary Magdalen like a gardner : From hence we came to the sepulchre of Christ itself ; at all the places afore-mentioned, the zealous pilgrims utter so many Ave-Maria's and Pater-Noster's as the friers enjoin them ; near the sepulchre are the tombs of Baldwin and Godfrey of Bullen, kings of Jerusalem ; this is all I found remarkable, and coming forth the next day at noon, Mr. Bunel and I went to the father guardian's

guardian's to dinner, there we heard that five Englishmen were arriv'd at the city gates, travelling toward Aleppo, their names were, Mr. William Badle, preacher to the English merchants at Aleppo, Mr. Edward Abbot, Mr. Jeffery Kerby, John Elkins, and Jasper Tynme; these five came to visit me, and can confirm the thruth of what I write; I then took a review of some other places in Palestine, and first I made some observations of the situation of Jerusalem, with a small compass I had about me, which I was told lay ruined, but found it otherwise.

The very heart of the old city was seated on mount Sion, and mount Moriah, mount Calvary being on the north without the gates, at a little distance: but the new city is situated so far northward, that it is almost removed from off mount Sion, but not from mount Moriah, which is between mount Sion and mount Calvary; the south wall of the city is placed on the north foot of the hill of Sion, the east wall that fronts mount Olivet is a great part of the antient wall, so that mount Calvary, that was formerly a stones-cast without the city, and the usual place of execution, is now in the middle of the new city; which yet is not so high as to be termed a mount, but rather a picked or spired rock; a little distance from hence is the sepulchre of our Saviour, being two foot and a half high, eight foot long, and four broad, covered with a fair white stone; over it is built a chapel, the north wall whereof is joined to the north side of the sepulchre; the chapel is of the same sort of stone, being fifteen foot broad, twenty-five long, and above forty foot high, in this chapel there are thirty or forty lamps continually burning, and on festivals more, maintained by gifts given at the death of devout people in Spain, Florence, and other popish countries, the names of the benefactors being graven on the lamps in letters of gold or silver: The chapel is inclos'd with a church, in the limits whereof the holy places afore-named are contained, as where Christ lay in prison, scourg'd, nail'd to the cross, &c. together with all the remarkable things either about mount Calvary, or the field of Joseph of Arimathea; this church is said to be built by queen Helena, mother to Constantine the Great,

an English woman, and daughter to king Coel, who built Colchester, and called it by his name: This I have read in the English chronicles, but the friers here denied it; it is a very large handsome church.

Upon the south-side of Jerusalem is a great iron gate, whereon are planted seventeen pieces of brass cannon, and is as large as the west gate of the tower of London, the walls being very thick, and fifty-eight or sixty foot high, the north wall is not so strong, and hath been often surprized, but the south nearer on the east is impregnable, the brow of the hill on which the wall standeth being five times higher than it; on the north wall are twenty-five pieces of brass cannon near the gate, which is also of iron; the east gate, a little without which St. Stephen was stoned, is to this day called by his name; there are five pieces of cannon planted between the ruins of Port-Aurea, or the golden gate, and the west gate, through which I first entered the city, and where I saw fifteen pieces of cannon more to secure it, which is iron as the rest. To conclude, Jerusalem is the strongest city that I saw in all my travels from Grand Cairo hither, the rest of the country is very easy to be surprized, especially considering that there are in the city three Christians for one Turk, and great numbers in the adjacent country, who all live poorly under the dominion of the infidels.

Now for the more easy comprehending how the country about Jerusalem lies, I will compare the distance of places from thence with some of our English towns and villages from London, according as I have computed the same; the city of Bethlem, where our Saviour was born, is as far from Jerusalem, as Wansworth is from London: The plain of Mamre is distant from thence as far as Guilford from London, in or near which place is the city of Hebron, where our father Abraham lieth buried. Beerseba is as far from Jerusalem as Alton, Ramoth Gilead as Reading, Gaza on the south west of Palestine, as Salisbury from London. Ascalon is north-east from Gaza; Joppa is from Jerusalem as Aillsbury, Samaria as Royston, the city of Nazareth as Norwich from London. From Nazareth to mount Tabor and

Hermor is five miles north-east; mount Sinai is north-east, and ten days journey from Jerusalem. Some of these places I did not see but the five Englishmen afore-named gave me this account, to whom I likewise imparted my travels thro' Palestine. The place where our Lord fasted forty days and forty nights, called Quaranto, is from Jerusalem as Chelmsford, the river Jordan as Epping, the plains of Jericho as Lawton-Hall (the seat of the Wroths;) the lake of Sodom and Gomorrah is from Jerusalem as Gravesend is from London; the river Jordan runneth into this salt lake, and which seems wonderful, is swallowed up therein, and lost; the lake having no visible issue out of it; and the waters thereof are so salt, oily and thick, that a dead man or beast thrown therein floateth on the surface, and will not sink: and further, all the soil of the river Jordan which is carried into it swims on the water, and by the continual agitation of the wind, in time it becomes a congealed froth, which being driven to the shore, and there dried by the extream heat of the sun, becomes black like pitch, and is called by the people bitumen, of which I brought a quantity home; this lake is near nineteen miles broad, and one hundred long, from the north, where the river Jordan falleth into it.

The fields where the angels brought good tidings to the shepherds, lie from Jerusalem as Greenwich from London, mount Olivet as Bow, Bethany as Black-Wall, Bethpage as Mile-end, the valley of Gethsemain as Ratcliff-fields, the brook Kedron as Hounsditch, mount Sion adjoins to Jerusalem, as Southwark to London.

And thus you have an account of all the notable places that are now standing in and about this once famous city, whereby it may be observed that it was but a very small country that the Israelites possess'd in Canaan, which is now generally barrè, insomuch that not above fifteen miles from Jerusalem the soil is all rocks and stones, and unless about Jericho I saw nothing fruitful; what it was formerly we read in Scripture, whilst the inhabitants obeyed the commands of God; but they, for their sins, being cast out of this land flowing with milk and honey, and it being now inhabited by infidels, that prophane and blaspheme the name

Christ,

Christ, this blessed land seems accursed of God, and is made so desolate, that I could not get bread when I came near Jerusalem: For one night, lodging short of that city, at a place called by the Arabians Cuda Chenalem, I sent my Moor to a house therein to buy bread, but the people told him they never eat any bread in all their days, living only upon dried dates, which may seem the judgment of heaven upon them for their wickedness, who are too guilty of the horrid sin of sodomy, besides adulteries, rapes, and all other bestialities: Which obliges the poor christians to marry their daughters at twelve years of age, to prevent their being deflowered by the Turks. And to conclude, there is not that villainy in the world but it is practised by the present inhabitants of this Terra Sancta or Holy Land, which hath the name and nothing else. For all holiness, modesty, and virtue is banished from thence by these filthy Turks and Infidels.

Having pleased myself with the sight of all observables in Jerusalem, and the country adjoining, and obtained a certificate and a letter from the Quadrian, to shew that I had washed myself in the river of Jordan, I took my tolemin leave of the five Englishmen afore-mentioned, and particularly of Mr. John Banel, who had been my fellow traveller from Grand Cairo hither. I left them all behind me at Jerusalem, and committed myself to the fidelity of the Moor who delivered me from my imprisonment, and who never left me till I came back to Grand Cairo, and from thence to Alexandria, where my ship lay. Departing from Jerusalem we came safe to Rama, thence to Ascalon, and Gaza, which lies on the borders of the desarts of Arabia. At one of which places I hoped to get passage by water either to Alexandria or Damietta, but failing thereof was much disturbed, since I must either return back to Jerusalem or put myself desperately into the hands of the wild Arabians, to be by them conducted to Grand Cairo. I sent my Moor to Joppa, but no passage was to be had there neither. At length, considering I must make haste to Cairo, where I had left my man Waldred, with a flock of twelve hundred pounds, and that my ship lay in the road of Alexandria, with sixty men in her, and I knew not whether they would stay

for me or no, because when I left them to go up the river Nilus to Cairo, I had no design to go to Jerusalem. In this extremity I was forced to conceal all the money I had about me, and to put my life in the hands of two wild Arabs, who undertook to convey me and my Moor (whom I durst not part with) to Cairo in four days, I paying them twenty-four saltans of gold when they delivered us safe at Materia near that city, which if I did not perform they threatned to carry me away prisoner, or else to cut my throat. My Moor having made this agreement with them, who warranted my safety, swearing he would never forsake me, they provided us two good dromedaries, I and the Moor riding before and the Arabians behind us, two upon each dromedary. We travelled apace, but these beasts trot so hard, that in four hours riding I was constrained to intreat them to suffer me to rest. About six in the evening I alighted, and the Arabians, as their manner is, tied the dromedaries two feet together, making them kneel down. Which done we sat down to eat a few raisins and biscuits that we had brought in our portmantuas. But in the mean while one of our dromedaries brake his halter, and ran back toward Gâza, whereupon one of the thieves took the other dromedary and pursued him, till they were all out of sight. Then the other Arabian ran after them, leaving us alone in the wild desarts of Arabia. Night approaching and our guides and dromedaries being gone, we were much perplex'd to think what would become of us. So I leaving my Moor, went to the top of a sandy hill adjacent, to see whether I could discover them. I was no sooner come thither but I saw four wild Arabians approaching me from the other side of the hill. Upon which I ran away with all speed, yet not so fast but one of the thieves was at my heels, and drawing his sword, bid my Moor deliver me: Who desired him to search me, for he knew I had nothing about me but my hair-cloth, further telling him, This cuar (or unbeliever) says he, is to be conducted in four days to Cairo by two of your companions, whom he named. To which they all answered, That if it were true they would do me no hurt, but if their companions came not again

with

with their dromedaries, then they would carry us away with them. But two hours within night they returned with them, and then they were all fellow-thieves, and intimate acquaintance. So we gave them a few raisins and a little water and departed. And the fourth day at night we came to a place where the Arabians had tents, who gave us some camel's milk, viewing me very earnestly, as if they had never seen a white man before. Next night we came to Sakhia, where though swathed with rollers, I was so shaken in my body that I was constrained to quit my dromedaries, and persuade my guides to procure horses of their acquaintance. The dromedary is a beast like a camel, but hath a smaller head and a long neck, yet there is no more difference than between a mastiff dog and a spaniel. These beasts eat little, and drink less, for 'tis said they will abstain nine or ten days from water, but not so long from meat. Their pace is a reaching trot, but very hard and quick: by which I went as far in four days as in twelve before, I think a good horse may run as fast but cannot hold it. At Sakhia, on the east of Gozan, I took horse, which the Arabians did not accommodate me with out of any respect to my weariness, but because they durst not go nearer to the inhabited country with their dromedaries. Wherefore one of them staid here, and the other went with me to Matera, from whence I sent my Moor to Grand Cairo for money, who being returned, I paid the owners of the horses six pieces, and the two wild Arabians twenty-four pieces of gold, and then they delivered me safe into the custody of my Moor within three miles of that city, where I was welcomed by the Consul and other English there resident. I then gave my honest Moor six pieces of gold, and divers other provisions for his journey to Mecha, in his return from whence, I heard afterward, he died.

I staid two days in Grand Cairo, and the seventh night after I came to Ballac, where I took boat, and in three days got down the river Nilus to Rosetta, and there taking horse with a Janizary, I fell into greater danger than in all my former travels, for between that town and Alexandria several Janizaries of quality landing from Constantinople, and having

having tired their horses they would violently have taken our mules from us, which my Janizary refusing, drew his sword, and they to be revenged came running upon me, and four of them having seized me, and beat me very severely, and having carried me to a by-place designed to have killed me which my Janizary perceiving, and finding nothing would satisfy them but our two mules, after he had been grievously wounded, he thought fit to deliver them, or else I had been certainly slain, after my long and weary journey, and within five miles of my ship that lay in the road of Alexandria. So that being wounded and well beaten we at last got to the gates of that city, but it was so late that they were shut, and we were forced to lie all night upon the hard stones. In the morning I got aboard my ship, after fifty days absence, and so ended my tiresome pilgrimage to Jerusalem.



A JOURNEY to JERUSALEM:

Or, *The TRAVELS of Fourteen*
ENGLISHMEN to JERUSALEM, in
the Year 1669.

In a LETTER from T. B.

Aleppo.

Honoured Sir,

THESE serve to accompany an account of my Journey to the Holy Land, for which I might refer you to others, who have given a more

exact

exact relation of that pilgrimage, yet according to your desire, I present you with this my narrative.

TUESDAY, May 3, 1669. we set sail from Scanderoon, with a north east wind, on the Margaret, Tho. Middleton, commander, being fourteen Englishmen, (of the factory of Aleppo) in company; but being forced to return three times, by contrary winds, by May 10, we arrived at Tripoly, whose port is guarded with six small castles, near the sea, and one great castle upon the land; defended from tempests on the west with islands, and on the east with a cape of land; so that only a north wind can prejudice ships in this port: The ground is stony, which forc'd the captains to buoy up their cables, the ships riding in six or seven fathom water. The town is about a mile from the marine, situate upon the shelf of a hill, and hath one good castle for its defence; the town is ruinate, and there were few people to be seen, it being the time of making white silk, and most of the people in their gardens.

May 13. After three days treatment by the Consul (for English, French, and Dutch) with extraordinary civility, about four in the afternoon, we set forward for mount Lebanon, and two hours riding from Tripoly, pitched our tent at the village Cofferinne; the inhabitants are Christians, and live in houses of reeds, and covered with bushes; the road to this village is very pleasant, through a forest of olive trees; and in the valleys are gardens of mulberries, with which they feed their silk-worms.

May 14. We departed from Cofferinne, about four in the morning, passing in a good road, and through plains sowed with wheat: About six we passed over several mountains resembling marble, if not really so, from this place we had a fine prospect of the fruitfulness of the valleys; between these mountains, upon the ascent of an hill, we came to a fountain, where we breakfasted; at seven we rose from the fountain, and having passed a very dangerous ragged mountain, about nine we came to Eden, a small village, and

very pleasantly seated, being surrounded with mulberries, and other sorts of trees; walnuts especially we found very common in this mount: We went to the bishop's house, a most miserable ruined cottage, who coming to bid us welcome, appeared more like a dunghill-raker than a bishop. We enquired whence this village had its name the Maronites who inhabit the mountains say, this was the place where Adam committed the sin of eating the forbidden fruit; but the bishop told us, it was in heaven, where were three trees, Adam being forbidden to eat of one of them, which was the fig-tree; but having eaten, he fell down from heaven, among those cedars, which are about thirty miles from the bishop's house, and there he began to till the ground. But the bishop being very ignorant, we forbore to enquire farther. The bishop has great respect shewed him, every one kissing his hand on their knees bare-headed: In his house he hath a ruinate church, with an altar in it; and a little beyond is a small chapel, near the head of the rivulet that feeds his house with water, where we found many men with Frank names, which had continued there from the year 1611.

Mid-day coming, the bishop made what preparation his house would afford for dinner, killing two kids and a goat, and giving us the best wine the mountain did afford, being a well relished red and white wine. Night coming, after supper, we kissed his hand; and next morning, being now but twelve in company, went to take our leave, and made him a present of livers, besides something to the servants, as is usual for pilgrims that take this voyage; two of our company waiting our return at Tripoly.

May 15. About five in the morning, arising from thence, we came to the cedars about eight; all that remain of them, being in a very small compass: We spent some time in cutting ticks, and setting our names on the great trees. At this place came to us the captain of a village, called Upshara, a few miles from the cedars. In our way, as we returned, he invited us to dinner at his village, which we accepted of, and after dinner made him a present. This man is a Maronite, and takes cassar or toll of the Turks; which pass
that

that way with their sheep and oxen; he hath a hundred soldiers under his command, who are all Christians. About two o'clock we mounted, and riding near twenty miles we came to a very deep descent, winding in and out, which is the road to the patriarch of the Maronites house, called Caunibene; it is a very good convent, and lies under the rock, they have a bell in the church, as in Europe, and go to their devotions morning and evening: After we had kissed the patriarch's hand, we demanded what was to be seen, and the druggerman took us to see St. Marren's cross, of whom they recount this story:

That a Venetian in the time that the Franks had the country, came with his wife and one daughter to live there; and after some years, his wife dying, was resolved to go into the convent and live a religious life, and would therefore have his daughter to leave him; but his persuasions could not prevail with her; but rather than leave her father, she would put on man's apparel, and live a devoted life with him also; which at last (tho' unwillingly) he assented to (she being young and handsome;) there they lived very strictly for several years: Afterward her father died, and the lay-brothers and fathers going out, as usual, to till the ground; she seldom went with them, the Chief of the convent keeping her at home (being much taken with such a handsome young man as he thought) whereupon they began to grumble, that St. Marrena did not go with them; so that at last, to satisfy the frâtres, he was sent out to work among them near the village Tursa: Presently after one of the young virgins of that village proving with child, she came to the convent, and laid it to the charge of St. Marrena; who was thereupon presently excommunicated, and lived a religious life in the grot near the convent, for the space of seven years; and being then again admitted into the convent, and still continuing to live a very strict life, he at length died; and the fathers coming, according to their custom, to anoint the body, found that he was a woman, whereupon they began to cross themselves, and to beg pardon for excommunicating her; and have built an altar in the grot, and call it by the name of St. Marrena, as they have also in several grots thereabouts, in remembrance

membrance of the religious relicks of those that dwelt therein; and when they take any body to see them, they immediately kneel down to prayers.

About a league from the convent are two Frenchmen that live a hermit's life, having bread and wine allowed them by the patriarch: Night coming on, we went to supper with the patriarch, the bishop of Aleppo, and two other bishops, with what the place afforded; at supper they brought out a great glass, that held near two quarts, with which the old man soon made himself merry, it being their custom to drink freely: He telling us, that that glass had belonged to the convent more than one hundred years, and that the Turks coming once to ransack the convent, seeing this glass, told one of the fratres, if he could drink off that full of pure wine he would save the convent; which one of them doing, the Turks went away, admiring what sort of people they were.

May 16. We took our leave of the patriarch, and presented him with some livres, as also the poor fratres, and others belonging to the convent, and so took our journey to Tripoly, having had a review of those mountains, and the country adjacent, over spread with many fair villages, and fruitful valleys sown with corn, and a great quantity of mulberry-gardens; it being the general employment of the inhabitants to make silk.

We returned to Tripoly to the consul's house that night, where, after two days repose, and having been extraordinarily well treated, we took our leave of the Consul.

May 18. About midnight, we set sail for Joppa, with a good wind; in the morning we came in sight of cape Blanco, where the wind proving contrary, we were forced to beat up and down for two days, before we could weather the cape; the wind coming good, we weather'd it, and came in sight of cape Carmel, which two capes make the bay of Acrica, on which there is a convent of white friars, and there they shewed us Elisha's tomb. Three or four hours sail further, we came in sight of Cesarea, now desolate, and inhabited by a company of savage Arabs.

May 23. We arrived at Joppa, which hath no harbour to defend

defend ships from storms, but very good ground to anchor in, about ten fathom water: It is a poor town, and hath one castle to defend those ships that come in close to the shore: The chief trade thereof is pot-ashes for soap, cottons, and cotton-yarn, which the Franks bring from thence.

May 24. We arrived at Ramah, a pleasant village: The trade of the inhabitants is in sillico's; the people are poor, and the lively hood of the women is spinning: We were treated there at the convent, 'till a messenger was dispatched to the convent at Jerusalem, for our admittance to pass thither, because of some extravagant stories that were spread abroad, of the plague raging in the place from whence we came; our messenger returned back that night.

May 25. In the morning we mounted to take our journey for Jerusalem, and baited at St. Jerom's church about twelve, to eat what small provisions we had with us: and the heat of the day being pass'd, we proceeded on our journey; and about four in the afternoon arrived at Jerusalem, at Joppa-gate; where we tarried till the druggerman of the convent went to the Caddy to procure a licence for us to enter the city; which having obtained, and delivering up our swords, and what other arms we had, to be carried to the convent, we entered the city on foot, and were conducted by the druggerman to the latines convent, with two or three fathers; we found them at their devotion, and afterwards all went into the Father-Gardian's chamber, who embraced and bid us welcome: We were carried to our lodgings, and the Father-Procuretor came to us, and passed a complement on us; bringing two or three bottles of the best wine, and desiring us to call for what we wanted; this was our first entertainment. But I should have told you that our druggerman, Mellanis Salley, who conducted us from Joppa, through the mountains up to Jerusalem, was formerly a robber himself, and could therefore the better guide us thro' the Arabs, who molest the mountains, and live all upon purchase: he was a Greek, by nation and religion. Now to our further entertainment at Jerusalem, the next morning father Tomaso, a lay brother, mighty serious and religious in his way, came to our chamber with milk, wine and fruit, (with a

blessing in his mouth) the season being very hot : About twelve o'clock we went to dinner, two or three lay brothers attending at the hall door, with a bason and ewer for us to wash ; and then entering the hall, the fathers stood all on one side near one another, saying grace in latin, and then singing the Lord's Prayer all together ; and afterwards bowing towards the picture of our Saviour at supper with his apostles, which is adorned with silver crosses, &c. and is placed over the Guardian's head. The Guardian hath his table alone in the middle of the room, and two long tables stand on each side, one for the pilgrims and the other for the fathers ; after they had kiss'd the ground we all sat down, and had every one his allotment brought in a little dish, they having always three or four courses of several sorts of meat ; our wine, water, and fruit, were set ready ; the allowance of wine was about a pint for each man, the water something less, and which we drank out of glasses, they always allowing a glass to every man. About the middle of the dinner the fratre came and changed our water, that it might drink the fresher. Dinner being ended, the Father-Guardian kneels, and the fratres rise and kneel with their faces toward the picture of our Saviour with his disciples at supper, and mumbling something to themselves, they kiss the ground, and then begin to take away, one taking away the dishes, another the knives, every one having his appointment ; and then give thanks in the same manner as before dinner ; then washing at the door, they go into the church, where they continue praying for a quarter of an hour ; this they do daily, rising always early, and in the night also they go to mass.

At this time there were two or three christians come from Bethlehem, whose art is to make the figure of our Saviour's sepulchre, or what holy story you please, upon your arm ; they make it of a blue colour, and it is done by the continual picing of your arm with two needles ; they presently began to work on some of us, and having presented us the patterns of abundance of prints, every one took his fancy.

The next day, May 27. we all agreed to go into the temple,

temple, and about four in the afternoon we went: Ten or twelve Fathers live there continually, and have their church there: The door is sealed with the Caddy's seal, and when any person goes in, he pays fourteen livres; we being entered the temple, the Fathers came and saluted us, and conducted us to their lodgings: where, after we had been about an hour, they prepared to go in procession to all the holy places, presenting every one of us with a book of holy songs, for every place, in latin.

And then we set out, the Fathers being dressed in white surplices; and the chief among them with a cloth of silver over his surplice, with two others dressed in the like garb to lead him; there was a great silver crucifix carried before him, and two men going on each side of it, with incense-pots to perfume every holy place that we came to. In this manner we went to the following places:

1. The pillar to which our Saviour was bound when he was scourged.
2. The prison wherein he was put.
3. The place where the soldiers divided his garments.
4. The place where St. Helena found our Saviour's cross.
5. The pillar to which he was bound when he was crowned with thorns.
6. Mount Calvary, where he was crucified.
7. Where our Saviour was nailed to the cross.
8. Where he was anointed.
9. The sepulchre of Christ.
10. Where our Saviour appeared to Mary Magdalen in the shape of a gardener.
11. The chapel of the virgin Mary, where our Saviour first appeared to her after his resurrection.

I might give you a particular description of the adornment of these places; but to be short, there are lamps burning at every one of them, some are paved with marble, others are hung with pictures; the place where our Saviour was laid down to be nailed to the cross is paved with marble also; but in the exact place where the cross stood the marble is covered over with silver, with silver lamps, and wax candles continually burning, and the effigies of our Saviour crucified standing on it: The sepulchre also is covered with marble, with silver lamps continually burning on it, as hath also the Anointing-Stone; and every person that goes into the sepulchre, or on mount Calvary, must be bare-foot.

Here

Here all sorts of christians have their churches, the Greeks have the best, the Latines, the Armenians, the Coptys, and the Syrians, have each of them churches here. The Greeks and Latines are the most powerful religions in the temple, and with great sums of money, and the credit they have at Stambul or Constantinople, buy these holy places of one another; the other parties are poor, and possess but a small part of the temple. The Latines once offer'd ten thousand livres for a piece of the cross, which the Greeks had purchas'd of them. These religious people bear little respect one to another, speaking very disrespectfully of each other. After our procession we went to view all the places and churches again; the Greeks have a place in the middle of their church, which they say, is the middle of the world. They have another place by the prison of Christ, with two holes to put the feet in; there is also a narrow passage between two pillars, in imitation of the straightness of the path to heaven, which the Greeks creep through. In the church of the Syrians is the intended sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus: And near the Anointing-Stone is a tomb where Godfrey and Baldwin, kings of Jerusalem, are buried. In the same place is the rent of the rock, which begins above, near the place where our Saviour was crucified; and in that rent, they say, Adam's head was found, when our Saviour gave up the ghost. Thus having seen the temple, we returned to the convent.

May 28. We went out of the city at Damascus-gate, and turning on the right came to one of the fish-ponds of the old city, and a quarter of a mile further to the grove where Jeremiah lived when he wrote his lamentations; on the left hand in the entrance, is a lodge in the rock, about a story high, where they say Jeremiah slept; and below opposite the door, is a hole intended for his sepulchre; passing through a ruined door, we came into the yard, where his well is, being a very good spring of sweet water; there we paid one livre; passing afterwards along the side of a mountain, that lies level with the city, a little beyond Jeremiah's tomb, we came to the sepulchre of the kings; the entrance into the first room was so small and low, that we

were forced to creep thro' it, in which are seven sepulchres cut out of the rock ; in the second room were eight, and in the third twenty-six, and many more in several others. One of the rooms hath a door of stone cut out of the rock, and shuts and opens as a door with hinges ; this door belongs to the room wherein Jehosaphat was buried, his coffin is of stone, with a cover to it, very neatly wrought on the sides with flowers, there are several in the first room, but they know not what kings they are : There is also another chamber into which we crept, so that there are in all forty-two burying places under ground, to which there is but one door to enter, and that is adorn'd with admirable workmanship, which I not being acquainted with, am unfit to express in proper terms. We now return'd to the convent, entering the city at the same gate.

May 29. We reposed, some of our company being to be mark'd.

May 30. We took horse to go for Bethlehem, and went out at the west gate, called Joppa-gate, and turning on the left hand, and taking the lower path, we passed along the road that the virgin Mary brought our Saviour, when she came to offer him at the temple ; and half a mile from the city is the place where the tree tirabintha grew, under which the virgin Mary rested to give him suck ; but the tree being cut down, the place is encompassed with a wall. On the left hand is David's house, whence he espied Bathsheba washing herself ; on the right, a little out of the road, is old Simon's and Elisha's house ; and a quarter of a mile further is a well where the Wise-men first observ'd the star ; a little further is the ground where the reapers were at work, when Habakkuk coming to bring them meat, the angel took him up by the hair of the head, and carried him into Babylon, to Daniel in the lion's den : Afterward we saw Jacob house, and a hill in the shape of a sugar-loaf, where the Franks remained forty years, after they were driven out of Jerusalem ; next is a monastery of monks, of the order of St. Tavola Paula Romana, who when they die, are buried at the convent in Bethlehem.

A mile further is the place where the angel appeared to the

the shepherds, and cried, *Gloria in Excelsis*, &c. when our Saviour was born; where there hath been a convent, but now there only remains an arched vault, where we paid money to the Arabs; who when they espy any Franks going thither, ride post before to take possession of the place, and get something from them. A quarter of a mile from hence, in the way to Solomon's cisterns, is the village of the shepherds, on the back part whereof is a well, of which they say the virgin Mary desired to drink: But the inhabitants denying to draw her any water, it presently overflowed for her to drink: Near to this village is Joseph's house, and a little further we came to Solomon's gardens, which lie shelving: At the bottom of them is the road from Grand Cairo, and round the top passes the aqueduct, which feeds Jerusalem with water (from thence we saw Tekoa standing on an high hill;) the waters come from the fountains which feed Solomon's cisterns. Passing a mile along by the aqueduct, we came to Solomon's cisterns, which are three in number; the first had no water in it, and might be about two hundred and fifty yards long, sixty broad, and of a great depth; the second had little water, something less in compass; the third was full, and as big as the first; they run one into another, and are fed by the spring that feeds the city. The fathers say, that they were made to swim in, being built with steps for the convenience of going into them, but they seem rather intended to reserve water for the city and gardens, having passage to both; near the garden is an ill-contrived castle, where a few villains inhabit to whom we paid one livre per man, for leave to go into the grot, where the springs are that feed the city and the cisterns; it is large, and hath three springs, and a large passage cut through the rock toward the cisterns, through which a person may easily walk, but we did not go to the end of it.

We mounted our horses, leaving the castle on the right hand, at a distance we saw St. George's church, where the fathers say the chains remain wherewith St. George was bound, which will presently cure a mad-man if bound therewith. After riding fifteen miles we came near Bethlehem,

where.

where passing through a narrow lane, the guard, consisting of four or five musqueteers, received five livres of every one of us, and our druggerman that went with us received three. And arriving at the convent, we paid one for our entrance; after being welcomed by the Fathers, we took our repose till five in the evening, and then prepared to go in procession to the holy places, in the same manner that we did at the temple in Jerusalem, the places we visited were these.

1. The place where our Saviour was born. 2. The tomb of St. Joseph, to whom the virgin Mary was espoused. 3. St. Innocent's tomb. 4. The place where St. Jerom lived, when he translated the Bible into latin. 5. St. Jerom's praying-place. 6. St. Jerom's tomb. 7. St. Paul's tomb. 8. St. Eustachias's daughter. 9. The sepulchre of St. Eusebius, Abbot of Bethlehem. 10. We return'd to the chapel of St. Catherena, built by St. Paula. Next is the great church without the convent, which hath forty-eight pillars of marble, about three yards long, all in one piece. At evening we went to visit the place of our Saviour's birth, formerly belonging to the Latins, till the Greeks bought it of them; so that now the Latins, when they go their procession, pray at that door by which they formerly entred. The Precipio hath two doors, one over-against the other, well lined with carved iron, and strengthened with iron spikes: We went in bare-foot; on the right hand in the entrance, is the place (they say) where our Saviour was born, which is lined with marble; and in the middle of the room there is a little place covered with silver, by which they set a dish to receive the offerings of pilgrims: On the left hand is the manger where the virgin Mary laid our Saviour, lined with marble; and at the end of the manger, on the right hand, is the picture of St. Jerom naturally in the marble, which the Fathers esteem as a miracle: Over-against this manger is the place where the three Wise-men stood, when they came to worship our Saviour. At the end of this place, in a corner, is a hole stop'd up with marble, wherein (they say) the virgin Mary put the water, when she had washed her hands: Over which a lamp burns continually, and a

great many in other places. Over this Precipio, in the great church, is the altar of circumcision, where our Saviour was circumcised.

Having seen what was curious at Bethlehem, May 31. early in the morning, we proceeded on our journey, in which we saw these places following :

1. The grot where the virgin Mary conceal'd herself, when she was warned to flee into Egypt, and her milk running out of her breasts there, made the earth turn white, which earth the catholicks, to this day, do very much esteem.
2. David's cisterns.
3. The grot wherein the virgin Mary and Joseph lived, before they could obtain a house.
4. The tomb of Rachel, Jacob's wife, which the Turks do also much esteem.
5. The field of Sennacherib, where the angel of the Lord slew in one night one hundred eighty-five thousand of the Syrians. In this place is a village called Botechelle, where the Fathers affirm no Turk can live.
6. The place where the pillars of the convent of Ramah were made.
7. The vineyard whence the spies of the land of Canaan took the cluster of grapes, to shew the fruitfulness of it; also the fountain where Philip baptized the queen of Sheba's eunuch.
8. The desert of John Baptist; riding eight miles further we came to John Baptist's fountain, where was his chamber, and a rock, wherein there was a place cut out like a bench for his bed; if a person breaks off any part of this rock he is immediately excommunicated.
9. Zacharia's house, where the virgin Mary came to salute her cousin Elizabeth; for the angel that told her she should conceive, told her also, that her cousin was with child; and upon her salutation the child leaped in the womb. Near this house is a fountain with two cisterns, which is called Elizabeth's fountain.
10. A stone where John Baptist preached, which the Fathers say the Turks have endeavoured to break in pieces, but could not.
11. Where John Baptist was born, now a stable, but formerly a church; the Fathers upon John Baptist's day carry an organ thither, and adorn the place for their prayers.
12. The tombs of the Maccabees, which we view'd at a distance, and being ruinated, appear as so many arches.

13. We passed by a village, where the men are all Turks, and the women Christians; for the people being poor, the Turks were very severe with them for their Harach; who not being able to pay all at once, turned Turks, &c. 14. We came to the mountain Crupil, where part of the wood whereof our Saviour's cross was made, was cut down, and over the place where they say the tree stood, is a stately church, in the possession of the Greeks; the exact place where the tree grew is inlaid with silver, near which they place a dish for charity: The floor of this church is well wrought with Mosaick-work, and painted with scripture stories; and instead of a bell they knock upon a board, that hangs up, which somewhat resembles the sound of a bell.

And now we went forward to the convent at Jerusalem, passing by mount Gihon, where Solomon was anointed king, and about night came to our lodgings, having made two days journey to see the holy places, and traverse the mountains of Judea; we slept very well that night, but still we have more pilgrimages.

June 1. We here rested, to recover ourselves of our Bethlehem journey, but father Tomasa, thro' his zeal, was very importunate with us to be walking to see other places, which are very meritorious in the roman catholick church; and had we been of their religion, it had been impossible to have miss'd heaven; for we had received indulgences for all our lives; which I fear deceives too many.

June 2. We began to search for the holy places, which are these following: 1. The immolation of Isaac near the temple, called mount Moriah, inlaid with silver, and near which is placed a dish for the offerings of pilgrims. 2. Peter's prison, still made a prison by the Turks: At the end of which is a hole in the wall, where they say the chain was fasten'd, with which St. Peter was chained; little remembering how oft Jerusalem hath been destroyed, and the stones of that old wall are now probably as far under ground, as these are above. 3. The monastery of the knights of Malta; a very fair building, one room hath several partitions for beds, with an hole in the middle, that if any of them are sick or fluxitive, they are laid there, to which (as the

water is nauseous, and the air unwholesome) they are very subject. 4. Solomon's temple; which, if any christian go into, or but put up the stair, he must turn Turk or be burnt: The rarity of which I shall give you an account of, when I come to a prospect. 5. St. Helena's hospital, where there are seven great caldrons, in which she used to have provisions dressed for the poor, where we pay one livre for entrance. 6. The judgment-gate, at which our Saviour was brought in, and near the gate is the place where he was condemned. 7. The dolorous-way, along which Christ went to be crucified; and in the way is the house of Veronica, who gave our Saviour a napkin to wipe his face, as he passed by: there is also Lazarus's house, and the house of the rich glutton; and the place where our Saviour fainted (as they say) and Simon took up the cross; and near that is the church where the virgin Mary stood to see him pass by, and swooned with grief; now called the virgin Mary's church. 8. Herod's palace, now ruined, and is now the Bassa's seraglio; in one room is the place where they clothed our Saviour with purple. 9. Pilate's house, here they shew the place where our Saviour was crowned with thorns, and the pillar to which he was bound, which was brought from thence and put into the temple: next, we enter'd the hall, where pilate washed his hands, and declared himself innocent of our Saviour's blood; out of which we had a fair prospect of Solomon's temple; it is built within the middle of a spacious yard, very well paved; there are several arches, good walks, and buildings about it: The temple is wrought with Mosaick-work, and, by the report of the Turks, is very rich within, it being one of their mosques; and though they have a half-moon upon all their temples or mosques, yet this only hath a cross thro' the middle: The Fathers reporting it would not stand till the cross was made. 10. The place where Christ was scourged, now a shop for linnen cloth. 11. The house of Annas, where our Saviour being hurried with violence down a steep place, to prevent falling he catch'd hold of the corner of a wall, where there is, in one of the stones, the resemblance of a man's hand, which the Fathers account a great

great miracle. 12. Simon the Pharisee's house, where there is a stone, with the print of a foot, which they said our Saviour made when he stood to pardon Mary Magdalen's sins: The Fathers say, that the Turks have endeavoured oft times to remove this stone, but still it comes into the same place again. 13. The house of Joakim and Anna, a fair high building; and in an under-room, cut out of the rock, is the place where they say the virgin Mary was born. 14. The pool of Bethesda, where the sick lay to be healed, the angel coming to trouble the water, and he that entered in first was healed; but it is now dry, and half filled with earth. 15. St. Stephen's gate, and a little way from the city is the place where St. Stephen was stoned: and the Fathers imagine that there is the print of his hands, face, and knees, when he fell down. 16. The valley of Jehotaphat, at the bottom of the hill, between the mountain on which Jerusalem stands, and mount Olivet. 17. The place where the virgin Mary is buried; whence going down a great number of stone steps, we came into a large vault, where all the Christians have their altars apart, all being of several opinions, and the Turks and Christians both burn lamps over her grave; here we paid one livre for enterance; and forty-eight stone steps upward is Joseph's tomb; and against that the tombs of Joakim and Anna. 18. The place where Christ sweat blood, and the angel appeared to comfort him, is near the bottom of mount Olivet. 19. The place where our Saviour prayed, that *This cup might pass from him*; and near that, is the rock on which his disciples rested when he went to prayer, between which two places he was taken; it is now bordering on the garden of Gethsemana, but might formerly be part of the garden, and is on the ascent of mount Olivet; where the multitude, going to carry our Saviour away, Peter smote off Malchus's ear. 20. The place where they say the virgin Mary prayed for St. Stephen, at the time he was ston'd to death. 21. Where Christ wept over Jerusalem, it is almost at the top of mount Olivet. 22. The place whence our Saviour ascended into heaven, having, as they say, left the print of his foot on a stone; it hath now a chapel built over it, with fourteen marble pillars;

lars; it is at the top of mount Olivet, and a little way off is the place where the men of Galilee stood, when the angel asked them, *Why stand ye gazing up?* 23. Where the angel told the virgin, she should be raised in three days. 24. Pelagius's grot; from whence we saw Bethpage, where the asses colt was tied. 25. The tree under which our Saviour stood, when he preached the judgment sermon. 26. The place where he compos'd the Lord's Prayer. 27. Where the apostles compos'd the creed; being a grot of twelve arches. 28. The sepulchres of the prophets, forty-seven in number, cut out of the rock; and entering in at a door, we came into a large grot, where are several places cut out for the reception of coffins: here we paid one livre. 29. The tree where Judas hang'd himself. 30. The sepulchre which Jehosaphat intended for himself; but being a king, he was buried in the sepulchre of the kings. 31. Absalom's pillar or sepulchre, cut out of the rock, and about the bigness of a small chamber, with pillars round about like a room built for a single person: it is a great height, and hath some carving about it. 32. Near this place is the print of Christ's feet, where he stopp'd at the brook Cedron, in his way to Jerusalem, and desired to drink; this brook is now but a small channel, and has no water, but in the winter the water comes down from the hills, and makes a small current. 33. The place where St. James conceal'd himself three days and three nights: it is cut out of the rock, and seems to have been design'd for a dwelling-place; near this place is the sepulchre of Zacharias, the son of Barachias, cut out of the rock. 34. On the side of the hill, on which Solomon worshiped Moloch, are chambers cut out of the rock, which (they say) was the place wherein the three hundred wives and one thousand concubines of Solomon were kept. 35. The fountain of the virgin Mary, which we went down to by stone steps; the water whereof is so sweet, that it hath the taste of milk and water. 36. The place where the prophet Isaiah was cut asunder with a saw: his sepulchre is under a rock near the same. 37. The fountain of Siloa, near which is a cistern, wherein formerly the pilgrims used to wash, but it is now demolished, and fill'd

fill'd with stones and mud, yet is its water still accounted good for the eye-sight; and near this is Golgotha. 38. Next, in a bottom, is a well, wherein (they say) Nehemiah preserv'd the holy fire, when the children of Israel were carried captive; and when they returned forty years after, they say they found the same fire in the well. 39. Ascending up the mount we came to the tombs of Annas and Cajaphas, who were high-priests. 40. And near it is the place where the apostles conceal'd themselves; entering a straight passage, we came into a room under ground, out of which there are several holes, wherein (it is said) the apostles lay. 41. We then came to Aceldama, a grot, now held by the Armenians for a burying-place: it is said, the earth thereof will consume the body of a man in forty-eight hours; there are several vents on the top, to let out the smell: We went down under a rock, to a place which we could look into, and there saw the form of a man entire, they being only laid in, but not covered with earth. 42. We came to the fountain of Beersheba, at the bottom of mount Sion, in which there is now little water, we being oblig'd to wait a quarter of an hour for one draught.

Having seen all that was remarkable in these parts, we went toward the convent, having gain'd much credit with father Tomasa, that we should be such zealous pilgrims as to walk from five in the morning till mid-day; but he, to encourage us, would still be foremost, and told us always, there was some place more worth our seeing, than any before; and though he was old, and the weather hot, yet at the going up a hill, he would run, that he might be foremost: and gave all the good words that could be, to encourage us protestants, who never hoped or thought, that we merited any thing by it: but at length we came to the convent again well weary, every one retiring to his lodgings.

June 3. We repos'd at the convent; after dinner one of the Fathers came and told us, that the Father-Guardian would wash our feet; which honour we accounted too great for us, and desired to be excus'd; but we were forced to comply with the orders of the convent: The basin, which

was as big as a tub, was plac'd by a chair, there were rose leaves and herbs put into the water; the Fathers all stood in a row, singing godly hymns; we being plac'd, the Father-Guardian wrap'd a towel about our knees, to save our cloaths; then they began to scrub our legs and feet, (being masters of their art;) there were two Fratres attending, one to each leg, having first dried the left foot, the Fratre kisses it, and puts on our slipper; then he dries the right foot, fastening a towel about the sole of it, and setting it on his knee, covers the toes with his hand, and then came all the Fratres, and kiss'd it; he gave us a little candle, in taking which, we kiss his hand and so rise and stand by till all our company are wash'd in like manner. Then we went in procession round their chapel, they saying several prayers, at three altars, and so we return'd to our chambers.

June 4. After dinner we went into the kitchen, where we found all the Fathers, with napkins before them, washing the dishes, every one taking his part, even to the Father-Guardian himself; some were cleaning, some handing away; but all the while, with one consent, they say some prayer; it seeming to be their endeavour that whatever they do may be to the glory of God; this being done they go all to prayers, and there is at all times some of them at their devotions in the chapel; yea, and two or three times in the night they arise to pray. On Whit Sunday the chapel was adorned more elegantly, a very rich canopy being set on the right hand of the high altar, for the Father-Guardian to sit under; when the prayers began, the Father-Guardian came into the chapel, and plac'd himself under this canopy: There were three or four Fathers dress'd in cloth of silver, like heralds, two whereof attend on each side of the Guardian, and two stand over-against him. Then they began to dress the Father-Guardian in his festival robes, and reading two or three lines, put about his neck a piece of linnen laced, and then his surplice, reading still between every robe that was put on. Then they cover him with a garment of rich sattin, and cloth of silver; the two that stand over-against him bowing at some words. His body being thus dress'd, the two Fathers put a Mitre on his head,

head, with all the respect imaginable; after a short prayer they take the Father-Guardian by the hand, and lead him to the altar, he standing in the middle of the four Fathers, adorned as aforesaid; the other Fathers have their surplices on, and the organs play; then making a short prayer at the altar, they lead the Guardian to his place again; and after a little reading they take off his mitre, and he sits bare, 'till the prayer be finish'd: then they put on another mitre; the first was of cloth of silver, and the second was of cloth of gold, set full of rubies, diamonds, and other stones; they took off that also, and put on a third mitre, of cloth of gold, differing in shape from the others. The Guardian being led to and from the altar, for some time, at length, (when they came to read that part of scripture which mentions the descending of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles when assembled together) a Father upon the terrass, was appointed to throw down a white pidgeon, dress'd with ribbands, in imitation of the Holy Ghost; but he met with some difficulty, for the window being fasten'd it was a long time before he could open it, so that we had like to have gone away without their Holy Ghost; but this difficulty being overcome, he made the dove descend among us, which being done, after a prayer, they began to undress the Father-Guardian again, reading all the time his robes were taking off; and so that day's service was done.

Now we began to think of going to the Dead-Sea, and the river Jordan, demanding what our expence would be; the Fathers say, twenty-five livres, but we all agreed not to give above twenty. The Fathers sent our resolution to the Bassa, and he returned answer, That if we would go, we should pay twenty-two livres; and if we would not, he would have ten livres a man; we thinking ourselves under his command, were not willing to embroil the convent, who bear all damages, as they have done for several; but thanks be to God, none happened in our time. We all resolv'd to go except Mr. T. H. one Englishman more, and a Dutchman, they not thinking the Bassa had been in earnest; but

because they did not go, they were forc'd to pay ten livres for nothing ; we then came to Bethany, now a small village, where entring into a grot under ground, we saw a tomb ; from whence they say our Saviour rais'd Lazarus, after he had been dead so many days ; here we had the Bassa's guard to wait upon us, for fear of the Arabs, who are on the other side Jordan, in the land of Moab, and often make incursions, and have sharp disputes at the end of the lance, with those that live on this side, in the Land of Promise ; The Bassa pretended he must send fifty men with us, but it proved but fourteen or sixteen. Having repos'd a little on the ground, about nine at night we mounted our horses, and passing through the turning and winding of the mountains, came in the morning to the foot of the Quarantine mountain, where we dismounted ; and making the cold earth our bed, slept two or three hours, having our horses made fast to our hands ; and the sun rising, we also did arise, and walked to Elisha's fountain, near this place ; and before the sun was too hot, we mounted our horses at the foot of the mountain, and so began to ascend, it being very steep : having ascended a great height, we came to the place where they say our Saviour slept when he fasted forty days ; and from that the mountain received its name ; this place is near the height of the mountain, but the passage to the top is known only to the Arabs ; there is a church over it, where some Fathers have lived, 'till they were murdered by the Arabs. Below are several cisterns of water, and frontispieces of chapels, but the passage to them is cut off ; as we were going up, the thoughts of the danger of descending entering into our heads, and the emperor of Germany's druggerman, or interpreter for these country languages, being fearful, hired two Turks to conduct him down, and so having all had a safe descent, we rode cheerfully back to Elisha's fountain, formerly bitter, but he having put in a handful of salt, the waters became sweet. Here we lay till four o'clock, and the heat of the sun being over, made for Jericho, where we arrived about five, there are now only a few poor cottages ; we pitched by Zaccheus's tree.

tree. The inhabitants are most Arabians, and some few Greeks: Here the captain of the village came to welcome our Bassa, and his people, mounted upon a mare, valued at a thousand livres, mares being only in esteem among them; here we reposed under a rotten hedge, till about four next morning, having little pleasure in our companions, the gnats and other stinging insects.

We proceed for the river Jordan, and arriving by daylight, staid about an hour to swim in the river. The stream is strong and rapid, and the force of a man can scarce resist it; it runs into the Dead Sea. Our guard were very hasty for us to be gone, being afraid their enemies should find them; therefore we all made ready and set forward for the Dead Sea; about two hours after, in our way to the sea, we passed through a most frightful barren place, not having so much as a green herb or grass, and the face of the earth covered with salt, and tho' dry, yet our horses sunk up to the knees. We came now to the Dead Sea, being about seventy or eighty miles in breadth, and about eighteen over: There is no place from whence the water, that comes into it runs out again, except it be under the earth; neither doth it seem to encrease with the river Jordan, and several other waters that run into it: It was once a fruitful valley, and compared for delight unto Paradise, and called Pentapolis, of her five cities, but afterward destroyed with fire from heaven, and turned into this filthy lake, and barren desolation which doth encompass it: And to try the virtue that is reported to be in the water, wherein they say a man cannot sink, some of our company went into the sea, and found it impossible to get their bodies under water, yea could hardly keep their legs under; the water is sulphury, and the extremity of the saltness not to be express'd; when they came out, there was a perfect oil upon their bodies. Our eyes being satisfied with curiosities and rarities, we made haste back to Jerusalem; the ruins of one of the cities that were destroyed for Sodomy, now lies great part out of the water, and is supposed to be Zeboim.

Now the sun getting strength, and by reflection on the

ground, made the heat so violent, that our faces look'd as if the skin were flead off, by riding from morning till four in the afternoon; but the Fathers being accustomed to meet with tender-faced travellers, soon provided something to mitigate our pain, which was much increased by the saltiness of the water of the Dead Sea: This night we took pleasure in eating, but more in sleeping, having had but little in this voyage. Having now visited all the places in the Holy Land, which pilgrims usually do, we prepar'd for our return.

June 9. We being resolved to set forward in the morning, the Father Guardian came and gave us his blessing, and sprinkled us with holy water, desiring us to excuse our bad treatment, and that if at any time we had been distast'd we should pass it over; but we knew it was a complement, for we had the most civil entertainment imaginable, and very far from disgusting us; for they were not only ready to be our servants, but our slaves; yea, my honest namesake Father Tomaso, never ceased, from morning to night bringing us either victuals or drink, or asking whether we wanted any thing; and now for this his fourteen days service, we were no ways capable to recompence him, for they would take no money, but for our victuals, and some other small services; we therefore presented to the convent thirty livres a piece, and some that had servants more. The Father Procurator receiving it, they entered all our names in a book, and the sums we gave: The book where the names only were written we had a view of, and took a copy of all the Englishmen's names that were in it, from the year 1601. to this day, being one hundred and fifty-eight in number.

Now taking our leaves, the Fathers all shewed great affection to us, weeping and expressing their desires to enjoy our company longer; and our desires were as much to be nearer home, to have an account of our friends.

June 4. We departed, our Mulletteers having provided horses, intending to take Emmaus in our way, but night drawing on we made St. Jerom's church our sleeping-place; formerly Fathers lived in it, but the Arabs came upon them

in the night, and cut all their throats; the church is well built, and hath been adorned with pictures on the wall, of which some remain to this day. About thirty miles from Jerutalem we passed over the brook out of which, they say, David gathered the pebble-stones to slay Goliah.

June 5. We arrived at the convent in Ramah about ten in the morning, where we staid till mid-night, at which time there was a ship to depart, and some of us intended to embark; the rest took a boat like a Gravesend-barge; we put our provisions of bread and wine aboard, and so put to sea, keeping always near the shore for fear of a storm. After three days sail we arrived at *Ærica*, formerly called Ptolemais, always coming to anchor at night; this place is famous for nothing but the ruins, the road being so bad, that all the art-captains have, can but keep their cables together. The commodities of this place are cottons, pot-ashes, and some filetto's. Two days after we arrived at Tripoly, where we made bold at our old house; the Consul received us very gladly, and our design was to depart the next day, but the plague still raging at Aleppo, the Consul forced us to stay twelve or fourteen days; all which time we were treated like princes, and then, by his leave, we embarked on a Dutch ship for Scandaroon; the rest of our company (whom we left at *Ærica* to go to see the sea of Galilee) being arrived.

June 26. We came to Scandaroon, where some were dead, others dying, and one flying from another, we remain'd upon the mount, and on board the ship for some time: And,

July 2. Arrived at Aleppo, where there died at that time seventy or eighty in a day of the plague, and thus ended our journey.

*A true Relation of the PROCEEDINGS
of the Great Council of the JEWS,*

*Assembled in the Plains of Ajayday, in
Hungaria, about thirty Leagues distant
from Buda. to examine the Scriptures
concerning Christ, October 12, 1650.*

*By Sam. Brett (an Englishman) there
present.*

IT hath been much desired by many honest christians, that this relation of the Council of the Jews should be published, which I did intend to communicate only to my private friends: The chief argument which persuaded me to do it, was, because they conceived it to be a preparation, and hopeful sign of the conversion of the Jews: And that will be glad tidings to the church of Christ; therefore I yielded to satisfy their desires, and thus it was.

At the place above-said there assembled about three hundred Rabbies (called Jews) from several parts of the world, to examine the scriptures concerning Christ. It seems this place was thought most convenient for this council, in regard that part of the country is not much inhabited, because of the continual wars between the Turk and the king of Hungaria. There they formerly fought two bloody battles. Yet both these princes, notwithstanding their own differences, did give leave to the Jews to hold their council there. The Jews, for their own accommodation, made divers Tents for their repose, and had plenty of provision brought

brought them from other parts of the country, during the time of their sitting. The Jews making (as we said) divers tents, they set up one large tent, only for the council to sit in, being made almost four-square: the north and south not being so large as the east and west parts. It had but one door, and that opened to the east. In the middle of the tent there stood a table, and a stool for the Propounder to sit on, with his face towards the door of the tent. The Propounder was of the tribe of Levi, named Zacharias. And within this tent, round about, were placed forms, on which stood the rest of the council. They were inclosed with a rail, at a distance from them, to prevent strangers, and all such as could not prove themselves to be Jews by record, or dispute in the Hebrew tongue, which many had forgotten, that lived in such countries where they were not allowed their synagogues: As in France, Spain, and those parts of Italy, that belong to the king of Spain, and the king of Naples; with the provinces of Apulia, Sicilia, Calabria, and Sardinia; in which places, if a Jew be found, and denies the popish religion, he is condemned and executed for it; And yet profit and benefit allure them to dwell in those countries, notwithstanding their fears and dangers: And they are willing themselves to forget and neglect to teach their children their native language, rather than lose their opportunity of profit. And again, some of those Jews have burned the antient records of their tribes and families, that they might not be discovered, by searching or otherwise. And for this defect that they could not prove their tribe and family, they were not permitted to come within the rails during the time of their council, but commanded to remain with the strangers that attended, to see the event of this assembly. We conceive the number of people that attended to see the issue of their proceedings, were about three thousand persons; the most part of them Germans, Almain, Dalmatians, with some Greeks, and a few Italians, but not one Englishman more than myself: For, I was informed that the king of Hungary not favouring the reformed religion, did give no encouragement to any protestant

testant churches to send any divines thither. But he did allow there should be some assistants sent from Rome; and their coming thither proved a great unhappiness to this hopeful assembly or council.

They first day, when the assembly first met, they spent some time in mutual salutations, and as their manner is, kissed one anothers cheeks, expressing great joy for this their happy meeting. And now all things being prepared for their accomodation, they considered of the Jews that were to be admitted for members of this council; for they only were admitted members that could, by record, prove themselves to be native Jews. And I observed there were above five hundred refused, and put by, though doubtless they were true Jews, yet they could not by record prove themselves so to be. And for this were not admitted to be members of this council, but commanded to abide without, among the strangers that attended there; the number of them that could prove themselves Jews by record, were three hundred, who were accepted to sit in the council. And this was all that was done the first day.

The second day, they assembly being full, the Propounder Zacharias, of the tribe of Levi, stood up and made a speech, concerning the end of their meeting. And this (said he) is to examine the Scriptures concerning Christ, whether he be already come, or whether we are to expect his coming? In examining this question, they searched the Old Testament with great care and labour, most part of that day, to be resolved in the truth, having many bibles to that end. About which point began a dispute that lasted many hours, which at last came to this conclusion, that the major part of this assembly were of opinion that Christ was not come. But some others of the assembly, having strictly examined the Scriptures, and finding them so plain for his coming, were inclined to think that Christ was come. Being the rather moved so to think, by the consideration of the great judgment that hath been upon them these 1600 years. By reason whereof, they have been as a cast-off and vagabond people; which consideration prevailed so far upon many others,

others, as oblig'd them not only to think, but to conclude that Christ was come. I remember one of them in conference with others, seemed to be very apprehensive of the great and long desolations of their nation, ever since their destruction by the Roman empire; and imputed their afflictions to their non repenting of such a wickedness, as to kill the Lord from heaven. And comparing their present, with other judgments, which their nation had suffered, he ingenuously confessed, he did believe it was for some wickedness that their nation was guilty of. And that one of their great sins, he thought, was the spilling of the blood of the prophets sent from God to their nation, and so many massacres that have been committed by the several sects and factions among them. For, said he, we are no idolaters, nor are we guilty of idolatry: And therefore I think we have not had this heavy judgment upon us for that; but surely it is the spilling the blood of Jesus, the prophet sent from God, and for massacring those that loved him. And this is the sum of what was disputed the second day of their meeting, and so they ceased until the next morning.

The third day, being assembled together again, the point chiefly agitated, was concerning the manner of Christ's coming. And that (they said) should be like a mighty prince, in the power and authority of a king: Yea, in greater power than ever king had. And that he will deliver their nation out of the power of their adversaries; and restore them to their kingdom again. And that the nations should be of their religion, and worship God after their manner. For they held, that the Messiah will not alter their religion whensoever he cometh. And therefore began to conclude that Christ was not come. For Jesus (said they) the great prophet, when he came, began to alter our religion, therefore he was not the true Messiah. And farther, when Jesus came, whom some call the true Messiah, he began presently to pluck down our religion, and set up his own; therefore he was not the true Messiah. Thus some of them concluded. But some did not. But they went from this dispute to another, concerning his parentage: They did all agree in this, That he should be born of a
N virgin,

virgin, according to the predictions of the prophets in the Old Testament. And in this also, That he should be born of a virgin of mean note and parentage among their nation, as was the virgin Mary, that bare Jesus, the great prophet from God. And upon this, many of them seemed to incline to think that Christ was come: But left it to the next day, when they should again meet together.

The fourth day, the assembly being met, the Propounder demanded what they thought, Whether Christ was come, or no? They said, They thought he was come. But they answered thus; That if he were come, he was no other than Elias: Because Elias came formerly in great power, and with great power he declared it, in slaying the priests of Baal, and for fulfilling the scriptures he was opposed by Ahab and Jezebel. And so they esteemed this man, whom they called Jesus, to be that same Elias. Moreover, others said, That they thought he was more than mortal man, in that he so strangely ascended up into heaven, which some of our fore-fathers saw; and this was all that was done on the fourth day.

The fifth day, the assembly being met, they went about the same question that was controverted the day before, and took it into examination again to answer them, that said Elias was not the Messiah. They of the contrary opinion, did argue the love and care of Elias, for the good of their nation: That he left them Elisha his disciple, to teach and instruct the people: And this they took to be the care of the Messiah. These were their chief arguments to maintain their opinion. The same day, towards night, came into question among them, what then he was, that said, He was the Son of God, and was crucified by their ancestors? But, because this was a great question among them, they deferred the farther consideration thereof until the next day:

The sixth day, there were some Pharisees that stood up, who were the great enemies of Christ, and said, they would undertake to answer the last question: And would by no means yield that he was the Christ. And these are the reasons they gave for their opinion, viz. 1. Because he came into the world like an ordinary and inferior man, not

with

with his sceptre and royal power. For, they affirmed, that the coming of Christ would be glorious. The second reason they pleaded against him was, the meanness of his birth, in that his father was a carpenter, and this (they said) was a dishonour, of which, when Christ comes, he will not be capable. The third reason, they accused him to be a false Christ, and an enemy to Moses's law, in doing, and suffering his disciples to do unlawful works on the sabbath day. For, they believed (they said) that the true Messiah will exactly keep the law of Moses. Now, though it were replied, that the gospel doth testify of Christ, that he did fulfil the law of Moses; yet they rejected that answer, because they did not believe and own the gospel. But these reasons did not satisfy the council, there still remaining doubts in them concerning Christ.

So that, after the Pharisees had done speaking, there stood up one Rabbi Abraham, and objected against the Pharisees, The miracles that Christ wrought, while he was upon the earth, viz. The raising of the dead to life again; his making the lame to walk; the blind to see; the dumb to speak; by what power, I pray you, my brethren, did he them? With that the Pharisees arose, and desired to answer him; and this is the answer they returned before the council: Perhaps, said they, this Jesus was an impostor and magician, and so was enabled to do those miracles. And for our parts, we believe, that all the miracles he did, were done by magick and charms, whereby they were restored to their former condition again. But this answer gave little satisfaction to the council, and especially to Abraham: Whereupon Abraham stood up, and replied, How could this Christ charm them blind, lame, dumb, &c. when they were born, before Jesus Christ himself was born, as it appeared some of them were. This seemed a paradox to the Pharisees. And truly, the prosecuting of this argument, almost put the Pharisees to a nonplus: But, at last they began to speak again, and gave this answer (though a weak and vile one) Perhaps, say they, the said impotent persons were made so, by other magicians, and conjured to be lame, blind, dumb, &c. And though himself were not then

born with those evils, yet, this Jesus being a greater dissembler, and more cunning than any magician before him, power was given him by the devil, to remove those charms which others had placed. But there was one Pharisee among the rest, named Zebedee, who, among all the Pharisees there assembled, did most opprobriously and blasphemously revile Christ; and vehemently urged those things to the council, against him: But, I conceive, not to the well-liking of any that heard him, even of the members of the council, or of the Pharisees. And, as the Pharisees played their part against Christ, so did the Sadduces likewise: For, some of the council were of that sect, who did endeavour to render Christ vile and odious to the rest of the Jews.

I observed it to be with the Pharisees and Sadduces, as once it was with Herod and Pilate: Though these two could not agree at other times, yet they could agree together to crucify Christ. So the Pharisees and Sadduces, though they be much divided in opinion among themselves, yet did they, at this time, too well agree to disgrace Christ, with their lies, clamours, and blasphemies. For the Sadduces, as well as the Pharisees, accused him for a grand impostor and magician, in that, in his gospel he taught the resurrection from the dead, which (say they) we deny. But, it is no wonder to see factions agree in some evil design against others, as I found by experience in 1650. (which was the year of their jubilee.) At which time there was a great strife between the Jesuits and the Friars. And though their dissensions hath been, by the care and vigilancy of the Pope, smothered over, that the world then took not much notice; yet this fire broke out again into a flame, greater (as they informed me) than before; even to publick disputations, and bitter wranglings, one against another, opening the deluge of errors, and one another's factions. Thus seeking to disgrace each other, the Pope threatened to excommunicate the authors of all such black libellous books, tending to the dishonour of the clergy (as he called them) to make them infamous to the world. But these things by the way.

The seventh day. We are now come to the seventh day
of

of their meeting; on which this was the main query, "Whether, if Christ were come, what rules and orders hath he left for his church to walk by?" This was a great question among them, because they did not believe the New Testament, and so would not be guided by it. But demanded some other instructions, to direct them in this point. Whereupon six of the Roman clergy, who were on purpose sent thither by the Pope, to advise in the council, (two of which were Jesuits, and four were Friars, two of the order of St. Augustine, and two of the order of St. Francis,) being admitted into the council, began to open to them the doctrine and rules of the holy church of Rome; which they magnified to them for the holy catholick church of Christ; and their doctrines to be the infallible doctrine of Christ, and their rules to be the rules which the apostles left to the church for ever to be observed. And that the Pope is the holy vicar of Christ, and the successor of St. Peter. For particulars, they affirmed the real presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper; the religious observation of their holy days, the invocation of saints for their prayers to the virgin Mary, and her commanding power in heaven over her son; the holy use of their cross and images; with the rest of their idolatrous and superstitious worship: All which they recommended, for the doctrines and rules of the apostles.

But, so soon as the assembly of the Jews heard these things from them, they were all exceedingly troubled thereat, and fell into high clamours against them; crying out, No Christ, No virgin Mary, No women-gods, No intercession of the saints, No holy crosses, No worshipping of images, &c. Their grief and trouble was so great, that it would have troubled an hard heart to have seen and heard it: For, they rent their cloaths, tore their hair, cast dust upon their heads, and cried out, blasphemy, blasphemy, blasphemy against Jehovah, and Christ our king. And in this great confusion, and perplexity, the council brake up.

But being willing to do something, being yet unresolved, they assembled again upon the eighth-day. And, all that was done upon that day, was to agree upon another meeting

ing of the Jews, which was to be three years after ; which was then concluded upon, before their final departing.

I believe (saith the relater) there were many Jews there who would have been easily persuaded to own the Lord Jesus Christ. And I assure it for truth (to the honour of our protestant religion, and for the encouragement of our divines) that one of the Rabbies, eminent among them, in conference with me, gave his opinion in this wise. 1. That he found at first, that they who were sent from Rome, would cause an unhappy prejudice to their council. 2. That (as he professed to me) he much desired the presence of some protestant divines, at their assembly ; and especially of our English ministers, of whom he had a greater liking than of any in the world beside. For, he did believe, we had a great love to their nation : And the reason for his good opinion of our ministers was (as he told me) That he had often heard that they do pray ordinarily for the conversion of their nation ; which he did acknowledge to be a great token of their love towards them. He commended the ministers of London especially, for their excellent preaching, and for their charity towards their nation, as he had heard by many travellers. Moreover, he said, that he did account the church of Rome to be an idolatrous church : And therefore will not own their religion. But, by conversing with other of the Jews, I found they thought there was no other christian religion in the world, than that of the church of Rome, and by the Romish idolatry, they took offence at all christian religion. Whence it doth appear, that Rome is the greatest enemy to the conversion of the Jews.

Now for the place of the Jews next meeting, it was appointed to be in Syria : In which country I also was, and did converse with the sect of the Rechabites : who still observe their old rules and customs. They neither plant, sow, or build houses, but live in tents ; and often remove from place to place, with their whole families. The Italian tongue is much spread in the world : And the Jews as frequently discourse in that language, as their own. And therefore I convers'd with them, with as much ease as I could have done in their own language. And if God give

me leave and opportunity, I shall be willing to attend their next council, which will be in the year 1653. The Lord prosper it.——Written by me,

Samuel Brett.

A BRIEF CHRONOLOGY concerning the
JEW S, from the Year of Christ 1650,
to 1666.

By Nath. Holmes, D. D.

HAVING evidently seen in the foregoing relation, what was solemnly acted (not done in a corner) in 1650. towards the call of Israel; and how far many of the said council were brought over to acknowledge Christ our Messiah: And how much further they, and many others of the council, might have acknowledged Christ, had not the Jesuits and Friars given them an irreconcilable offence; pretending the rubbish of the popish religion, and idolatrous worship, to be the ordinances of Christ; there not being one protestant divine present to balance against them.

You have also heard what was resolved upon, of the same nature, to be acted in the year 1653. of which tho' we cannot give a relation (not knowing whether Mr. Samuel Brett lived to that day, and had liberty to keep his promise of being there: or if he lived, whether he wrote the relation of that years meeting; or, whether the man be yet alive) yet we have little cause to doubt but the said meeting (so publickly and solemnly appointed, and of so grand a matter) was punctually observed and celebrated, according to the set time and place; though we so remotely distant from them have not heard thereof. Yet
this

this we have heard, about that time, or presently after, That some antient Rabbies cautioned their countrymen, "That, if their expected Messiah did not come in a few years, thence following, they should embrace the christian Messiah for the true Messiah." And this also we can affirm, that whatever came to pass about that time, in order to the call of the Jews, may well comport with the compute of 1290 years, (*Dan. 12.*) from the ceasing of the daily sacrifice, if we place that utter cessation of that sacrifice (at the foot of the account whence to commence) as the learned Bucholcerus doth at the year 363. And then (according to this compute) the 1290 years expire in the year of Christ 1653.

In the year 1653, April 19. We received a letter from a religious and learned hand, that one Rabbi Nathan Sephira sent from Jerusalem to the christian protestant churches in Europe, to receive their free benevolence towards the relief of the Jews, then in distress, spake as followeth. *I profess, saith he, that the fifty third of Isaiah is meant of the Messiah, who bare our sins ever since Adam. And for that of Christ's doctrine, in the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of Matthew, he said, I acknowledge it to be the head of all wisdom. And whoever walks according to it, are more just than we. Of the spirit of Messiah, he said, it hath appeared several times, as in Hezekiah, Habakkuk; in our Jesus, whom our fore-fathers wrongfully put to death; and that sin lies upon us to this day. And this profession, said he, I make, not only for myself but for others at Jerusalem, where the most pious Jews are dwelling: who with fasting, watchings, and other exercises of penitency, strive to reconcile themselves and the whole nation to God. Thus far R. Nathan Sephira. Now this, and whatsoever else happened about that year 1653. in order to the call of the Jews, may also competently comport with the compute of the 1290 years (*Dan. 12*) if we put (as learned Alsted doth) the beginning of the said 1290 at the year of Christ 367. His words are these, *Anno 367, Terra motus ingens totum fere, &c.* That is to say, *In the year 367, a great earthquake shook almost all the world. A deluge destroys Nicæa, and many islands.**

islands. A violent hail at Constantinople, which destroys many people. Moreover, the temple at Jerusalem, re-edified by Julian the apostate, falls down, and is burn'd by fire from heaven. According to which account, the 1290 years expire in the year 1657. And then directly follows the story aforesaid, &c. in the year 1658.

Learned Functius puts the said earthquake, inundation, and fiery tempest (destroying the temple, and causing the utter cessation of the daily sacrifice) at the year of Christ 369, which being added to 1290, makes 1659.

If it be questioned, how learned men take this liberty, according to truth, to put the cessation of the daily sacrifice so variously as aforesaid; and so make the calculations, by the numbers added thereunto, to period so differently? We answer: It may be, in respect of the cessation of the daily sacrifice, caused by the prodigious judgments aforesaid, demolishing the new buildings of the temple: both which must of necessity require a latitude of time, viz. A considerable time for the rebuilding of the temple so far, as that it was (among historians) accounted a re-building. And a considerable time is required for the fulfilling of those judgments; as that consuming of the timber-work, the overturning all the stone-work, and the making of the way inaccessible by many other prodigious judgments (as Bucholcerus asserts) which at several times very much deterr'd the workmen from that work. All which must measure out a long time, from the beginning of that cessation, since their repulse at Mamre, and while preparing for, and re-building that structure, till with the destruction thereof, their utmost hope ever to sacrifice there any more, was totally and finally destroyed. And upon this account some calculate from the beginning of the cessation, others from the end thereof.

April 13, 1663. I received a letter from a pious and learned hand, that he had seen letters from a professor of the Hebrew tongue, in a famous protestant university: declaring, that certain men of note came to him, professing themselves to be Jews in blood, nation, and religion; saving, that they did acknowledge Jesus to be the Messiah:

Asking counsel of the said professor, about taking upon them circumcision; who advising them, that his nation, being protestants, would not suffer a judaical christian religion among them: they departed, and went to another protestant nation, where such a mingled religion is tolerated, though not approved.

In the same year 1663. September 4. I received a letter from a learned man, who much converseth with many Jews and Rabbins: That how contemptible soever the Jews may seem to be in their present miserable condition, yet for all that, they are witnesses unto the world, That there is indeed a God; yea, and that there was a Christ, whom their fore-fathers crucified. A man that did great miracles: And whom his disciples held, was raised from the dead, &c.

In the same year 1663, December, I received a little book, sent to me from the Mart at Franckfort, called, *Judaorum Exitabulum Matutinum*; containing much matter of the call of the Jews approaching, as the said title shews.

May 12, 1664. I received from a worthy friend, as followeth: A certain Jew, a Rabbi, in whose company I was, doth (from that place of Isaiah xxxiv. 8. *It is the day of the Lord's vengeance, and the year of recompences for the controversy of Zion*;) infer, that therein seems to be pointed out the year wherein the Lord will begin to take in hand the cause of Zion; that he may render double to them who have hitherto afflicted her. The Hebrew word, saith he, to exprets recompences, is Shillumim. It might have been sufficient to have said, This is the day of vengeance; unless the holy spirit had had a mind, couchedly to presignify the year, viz. in what year of the six thousand, should begin the great sabbatism. And this the holy spirit presignifies while it adjoineth to the word year, the word Shillumim, the numeral letters of which word written in Hebrew, make 426. The present year 1663, from the creation is number'd by the Jews to be 5424. to which, if you add two years, you have in the sixth millenary 426. And if we number from the birth of Christ, we have, after two years, the number of the beast, viz. 666. If any should say,

this

this wants solidity: I answer: This suits my purpose, viz. The expectation of the call of the Jews are long. For, the occasion of this calculation was, that he undertook to predict, (as with a prophetick spirit) that, within two years a very great change would befall the Jews, for good or for ill. And being asked, whence he did collect this. In answer to my question, he shewed me the said place of Isa. xxxiv. 8. and made upon it the aforesaid calculation.

And thus I have brought the reader down from 1650, to the brink of 1665. in giving him all along some glimpses of the approaching call of the Jews, how near we cannot positively say. As for the present year 1665, within five days now expiring, I have not mention'd the occurrences thereof; because of them, men's pockets are full of letters; their hands full of gazets; their ears full of reports and tidings; and their eyes sufficiently perceive the Jews cease trading, pack up, and are marching. Upon the consideration of the whole, I conclude with Daniel in relation to Israel's call, chap. xii. 10. *The wise shall be purified and shall understand: But the wicked shall do wickedly, and none of them shall understand.* Therefore I bid thee, reader, farewell, with this;

*Be not DECEIVED; one lately did advise:
Beware, say I, Christ's day doth none SURPRIZE.*

P O S T S C R I P T.

AS by the preceding account we may observe what thoughts and expectations divers well-meaning christians had of the call and return of the Jews in the year 1666, and particularly of the noise that was made in the world by the pretended Messiah Sabotai Sevi, who just about that time impudently assumed to himself that title, and declared that he was come to deliver the Jews from slavery, and carry them to Jerusalem, there to reign over them; so the following relation gives a clear and impartial account of the actions

and death of that vain impostor, and the scandal which the Jews brought upon themselves by their fond and easy credulity; and it may likewise serve as a remembrance to all sober men, that secret things belong only to God, and revealed to man, that we may keep his laws. The author hereof is an English gentleman of quality, and a person who was in that station, as to be capable of thoroughly informing himself of the truth of all particulars, and it may therefore challenge the credit of the most captious reader.

R. B.



The Counterfeit Messiah, or False Christ of the JEWS at Smyrna, in the Year 1666.

Written by an English Person of Quality
there Resident.

ACCORDING to the predictions of several christian writers, especially of such who comment on the Apocalypse, or Revelations, this year 1666, was to prove a year of wonders, and strange revolutions in the world, and particularly of blessings to the Jews, either in respect of their conversion to the christian faith, or of their restoration to their temporal kingdoms: This opinion was so dilated, and fix'd in the countries of the reformed religion, as to the downfall of the Pope and Antichrist, and the greatness of the Jews, in so much, that this subtle people judged this year the time to stir, and to fit their motion according to the season of the modern prophecies; whereupon strange reports flew from place to place, of the march of multitudes
of

of people from unknown parts into the remote deserts of Arabia, supposed to be the ten tribes and half, lost so many ages. That a ship was arrived in the northern parts of Scotland, with her sails and cordage of silk, navigated by mariners who spake nothing but Hebrew; with this motto on their sails, *The Twelve Tribes of Israel*. These reports agreeing thus near to former predictions, put the wild sort of the world into an expectation of the strange accidents this year should produce in reverence to the Jewish monarchy.

In this manner millions of people were possessed, when Sabatai Sevi first appeared at Smyrna, and publish'd himself to the Jews for their Messiah, relating the greatness of their approaching kingdom, the strong hand whereby God would free from bondage, and gather them from all parts of the world. It was strange to see how the fancy took, and how fast the report of Sabatai and his doctrine flew through all parts where Turks and Jews inhabited, the latter of which were so deeply possessed with a belief of their new kingdom and riches, and many of them with promotion to offices of government, renown, and greatness, that in all parts, from Constantinople to Buda (which it was my fortune that year to travel) I perceived a strange transport in the Jews, none of them attending to any business, unless to wind up former negotiations, and to prepare themselves and family for a journey to Jerusalem: All their discourses, their dreams, and disposal of their affairs tended to no other design but a re-establishment in the Land of Promise, to greatness, glory, wisdom, and doctrine of the Messiah, whose original, birth, and education are first to be recounted.

Sabatai Sevi was son of Mordecai Sevi, an inhabitant and native of Smyrna, who gained his livelihood by being a broker to an English merchant in that place; in the latter part of his life he was very infirm, being much afflicted with the gout and other infirmities; but his son Sabatai Sevi addicting himself to study, became a notable proficient in the Hebrew and metaphysics; and arrived to that point of sophistry in divinity and metaphysics, that he vented a new doctrine in their law, drawing to the profession of it

so many disciples as raised one day a tumult in the synagogue; for which afterwards he was, by a censure of the Cochams (who are expounders of the law) banished the city.

During the time of his exile he travelled to Thessalonica, now called Salonica, where he married a very handsome woman; but either not having that part of oeconomy as to govern a wife, or being impotent towards women, as was pretended, or that she found not favour in his eyes, she was divorced from him: Again, he took a second wife, more beautiful than the former, but the same causes of discontent raising a difference between them, he obtained another divorce from this wife also. And being now free from the incumbrances of a family, his wandering head mov'd him to travel through the Morea, thence to Tripoly in Syria, Gaza, and Jerusalem; and by the way pick'd up a Leghorness lady, whom he made his third wife, the daughter of some Polonian or German, her original and parentage not being very well known. And being now at Jerusalem he began to reform the law of the Jews, and abolish the fast of Tamuz, which they keep in the month of June, and there meeting with a certain Jew called Nathan, a proper instrument to promote his design, he communicated to him his condition, his course of life, and intentions to proclaim himself Messiah of the world, so long expected and desired by the Jews. This design took wonderfully with Nathan; and because it was thought necessary, according to scripture and antient prophecies, that Elias was to precede the Messiah, as St. John Baptist was the forerunner of Christ, Nathan thought no man so proper to act the part of the prophet as himself; and so no sooner had Sabatai declared himself the Messiah, but Nathan discovers himself to be his prophet, forbidding all the fasts of the Jews in Jerusalem, and declaring, that the bridegroom being come, nothing but joy and triumph ought to dwell in their habitations: Writing to all the assemblies of the Jews, to persuade them to the same belief.

And now the schism being begun, and many Jews really believing what they so much desired, Nathan took the
courage

courage and boldness to prophesy, That one year from the 27th of Kislev (which is the month of June) the Messiah shall appear before the Grand Seignior, and take from him his crown, and lead him in chains like a captive.

Sabatai also at Gaza preached repentance to the Jews, and obedience to himself and doctrine, for that the coming of the Messiah was at hand: Which novelties so affected the Jewish inhabitants of those parts, that they gave up themselves wholly to their prayers, alms, and devotions; and to confirm this believe the more, it happened that at the same time news hereof, with all particulars, were dispatched from Gaza, to acquaint the brethren in foreign parts: The rumour of the Messiah was publish'd so swift, and gained such reception, that intelligence came from all parts and countries where the Jews inhabited, by letters to Gaza and Jerusalem, congratulating the happiness of their deliverance and expiration of the time of their servitude, by the appearance of the Messiah. To which they adjoined other prophecies, relating to that dominion the Messiah was to have over all the world: That for nine months after he was to disappear; during which time the Jews were to suffer, and many of them to undergo martyrdom: But then returning again, mounted on a coelestial lion, with his bridle made of serpents with seven heads, accompanied with his brethren the Jews, who inhabited on the other side of the river Sabatian, he should be acknowledged for the sole monarch of the universe; and then the holy temple should descend from heaven already built, framed, and beautified, wherein they should offer sacrifice for ever.

And here I leave you to consider how strangely this deceived people were amused, when these confident and vain reports and dreams of power and kingdoms, had wholly transported them from the ordinary course of their trade and interest.

This noise and rumour of the Messiah having begun to fill all places, Sabatai Sevi resolved to travel towards Smyrna, the country of his nativity; and thence to Constantinople the capital city, where the principal work of preaching was to have been performed: Nathan thought it not fit to

be long after him, and therefore travels by the way of Damascus, where resolving to continue some time for better propagation of this new doctrine; in the mean while writes the following letter to Sabatai Sevi.

22. *Kesvan* of this year.

TO the King, our King, Lord of our Lords, who gathers the dispersed of Israel, who redeems our captivity, the man elevated to the height of all sublimity, the Messiah of the God of Jacob, the true Messiah, the celestial lion, Sabatai Sevi, whose honour be exalted, and his dominion raised in a short time, and for ever, Amen. After having kissed your hands, and swept the dust from your feet, as my duty is to the king of kings, whose majesty be exalted, and his empire enlarged: These are to make known to the supream excellency of that place, which is adorned with the beauty of your sanctity, that the word of the king, and of his law, hath enlighthened our faces: That day hath been a solemn day unto Israel, and a day of light unto our rulers, for immediately we applied ourselves to perform your command, as our duty is. And though we have heard of many strange things, yet we are courageous, and our heart is as the heart of a lion; nor ought we to enquire a reason of your doings, for your works are marvellous and past finding out, and we are confirmed in our fidelity without all exception, resigning up our very souls for the holiness of your name: And now we are come as far as Damascus, intending shortly to proceed in our journey to Scanderoon, according as you have commanded us; that so we may ascend and see the face of God in light, as the light of the face of the King of Life: And, we, servants of your servants shall cleanse the dust from your feet, beseeching the majesty of your excellency and glory to vouchsafe from your habitation to have a care of us, and help us with the force of your right hand of strength, and shorten our way which is before us: And we have our eyes towards Jah, Jah, who will make haste to help us, and save us, that the children of iniquity shall not hurt us, and towards whom our hearts pant

that are consumed within us: Who shall give us talents of iron to be worthy to stand under the shadow of your ass. These are the words of the servant of your servants, who prostrates himself to be trod on by the soles of your feet.

NATHAN BENJAMINE.

And that he might publish this doctrine of himself, and the Messiah, more plainly, he wrote from Damascus this following letter, to the Jews at Aleppo, and parts thereabouts.

To the Residue, or Remnant, of the Israelites, Peace without end.

THESE my words are to give you notice, how that I am arrived in peace at Damascus, and behold I go to meet the face of our Lord, whose majesty be exalted; for he is the sovereign of the king of kings, whose empire be enlarged. According as he hath commanded us the twelve Tribes to elect unto him twelve men, so have we done. And we now go to Damascus by his command, to shew our faces together with part of the principal of those particular friends to whom he hath given licence to assemble in that same place. And now come to make known unto you, that though you have heard strange things of our Lord, yet let not your hearts faint, or fear, but rather fortify yourselves in your faith, because all his actions are miraculous and secret, which human understanding cannot comprehend; and who can penetrate into the depth of them? In a short time all things shall be manifested to you clearly in their purity: and you shall know, and confirm, and be instructed by the inventor himself; blessed is he who can expect, and arrive to the salvation of the true Messiah, who will speedily publish his authority and empire over now, and for ever.

NATHAN BENJAMINE.

And now all the cities of Turkey where the Jews inhabited, were full of the expectation of the Messiah; no trade

trade nor course of gain was followed: every one imagin'd that daily provisions, riches, honours, and governments, were to descend upon them by some unknown and miraculous manner: an example of which is most observable in the Jews at Theffalonica, who now, full of assurance that the restoration of their kingdom, and the accomplishment of the time for the coming of the Messiah, was at hand, judg'd themselves obliged to double their devotions, and purify their consciences from all sins and enormities which might be obvious to the scrutiny of him who was now come to penetrate into the very thoughts and imaginations of mankind: In which work certain cochams, or priests were appointed to direct the people how to regulate their prayers, fasts, and other acts of devotion. But so forward was every one now in his acts of penance, that they stay'd not for sentence of the Cocham, or prescriptions of any rules, but apply'd themselves immediately to fasting: And some in that manner beyond the abilities of nature, that having for the space of seven days taken no sustenance, were famish'd to death. Others buried themselves in their gardens, covering their naked bodies with earth, their heads only excepted, remaining in their beds of dirt until their bodies were stiffen'd with the cold and moisture: others would endure to have melted wax pour'd upon their shoulders, others to roll themselves in snow, and throw their bodies, in the coldest season of winter, into the sea or frozen waters. But the most common way of mortification was, first, to prick their backs and sides with thorns, and then give themselves thirty nine lashes. All business was laid aside, none wrought, or opened shop, unless to clear his warehouse of merchandize at any price: who had superfluity in household-stuff, sold it for what he could; but yet not to Jews, for they were interdicted from bargain or sale, on the pain of excommunication, pecuniary mulct, or corporal punishments; all business and employment was esteem'd for the test and touch-stone of their faith. It being the general tenet, that in the days that the Messiah appears, the Jews shall become master of the estates and inheritance of infidels, until when they are to content themselves with matters only necessary

maintain and support life; but because every one was not
master of so much fortune and provision, as to live with-
out daily labour, therefore to quiet the clamours of the
poor, and prevent the enormous lives of some, who upon
these occasions would become vagabonds, and desert their
cities, due order was taken to make collections, which were
so liberally bestowed, that in Thessalonica only, four hun-
dred poor were supported by the meer charity of the rich
kind as they endeavour'd to purge their conscience of sin,
and not apply themselves to good works; that the Messiah
might find the city prepared for his reception; so lest he
should accuse them of any omission in the law, and parti-
cularly in their neglect of that ancient precept of increase
and multiply, they married together children of ten years
of age, and some children, with respect to rich and poverty
condition, and quality of life, being put in company joined to
the humblest of the poor, and hundred couples, upon better
and cooler thoughts, that the deceit of the false Messiah
was discover'd, for the expectation of his coming grew cold,
were divorced, or by consent separated from each other.
In the heat of all this talk and tumult comes Sabatai Sewi
to Smyrna, the city of his nativity, infinitely desired there
by the common Jews; but by the Cochams, or Doctors of
their law, who gave little or no credence to what he pro-
posed, was ill received, not knowing what mischief or rum-
our his doctrine and prophecy of a new kingdom might pro-
duce. Yet Sabatai bringing with him testimonials of his
sanctity, holy life, wisdom, and gift of prophecy, so deeply
fix'd himself in the hearts of the generality, both as being
holy and wise, that they upon he took courage and bold-
ness to enter into disputes with the Grand Cocham (who is
the head and chief expositor of the law, and super-intendant
of their civil and government, between whom the argu-
ments grew so high, and language so hot, that the Jews
who favoured the doctrine of Sabatai, and feared the au-
thority of the Cochams, doubtful what might be the issue
of the contest, appeared in great numbers before the Cadi
of Smyrna, for justification of their new prophet, before so
much as any accusation came against him. The Cadi (ac-
cording

cording to the custom of the Turkij swallows money on both sides, and afterwards remits them to determination of their own justice. In this manner Sabatai gains ground daily; and the Grand Cocham. with his party, losing both the affection and obedience of his people, is displaced from his office, and another constituted, more affectionate, and agreeable to the new prophet. whose power daily increased by those confident reports, That his enemies were struck with phrensies and madness, until being restored to their former temper and wits by him, they became his friends, admirers, and disciples. No invitation was now made in Smyrna by the Jews, nor marriage, or circumcision solemnized, where Sabatai was not present; accompanied with a multitude of his followers, and the streets cover'd with carpets, or fine cloth for him to tread on; but the humility of this pharisee appeared such, that he would stoop and turn them aside, and so pass. And having thus fixed himself in the opinion and admiration of the people, he began to take on himself the title of Messiah, and the Son of God, and to make this following declaration to all the nation of the Jews, which being written originally in Hebrew is thus translated into English.

THE only, and first-born Son of God, Sabatai Sewi, the Messiah and Saviour of Israel, to all the sons of Israel, peace. Since that you are made worthy to see that great day of deliverance, and salvation unto Israel, and accomplishment of the word of God, promised by his prophets, and our fore-fathers, and by his beloved Son of Israel: let your bitter sorrows be turned into joy, and your fasts into festivals, for you shall weep no more; O my sons of Israel, for God having given you this unspeakable comfort, rejoice with drums, organs, and musick, giving thanks to him for performing his promises from all ages; doing that every day, which is usual for you to do upon the new-moons; and, that day dedicated to trouble and sorrow, convert you into a day of mirth for my appearance: and fear you nothing, for you shall have dominion over the nations, and not only over these who are on the earth, but over those creatures also which are in the
depth

depth of the sea: All which is for your consolation and rejoicing. *his* *book*

SABATAI SEVI.

Notwithstanding the disciples of Sabatai Sevi were not so numerous, but many opposed his doctrine, publicly avouching that he was an impostor, and deceiver of the people, amongst which was one Samuel Pennia, a man of a good estate and reputation in Smyrna, who arguing in the synagogue, that the present signs of the coming of the Messiah were not apparent, either according to Scripture, or the doctrine of the Rabbins, raised such a sedition and tumult amongst the Jews, as not only prevailed against arguments, but had also against his life, had he not timely conveyed himself out of the synagogue, and thereby escaped the hands of the multitude, who now could more easily endure blasphemy against the law of Moses, and the profanation of the sanctuary, than contradiction, or mis-belief of the doctrine of Sabatai. But howsoever it fell out, Pennia in a short time becomes a convert, and preaches up Sabatai for the Son of God, and Deliverer of the Jews: and not only he, but his whole family, his daughters prophesy, and fall into strange extasies: and not only his own house, but four hundred men and women prophesy of the growing kingdom of Sabatai, and young infants who could scarce stammer out a syllable to their mothers, repeat and pronounce plainly the name of Sabatai the Messiah, and Son of God. For thus far had God permitted the devil to delude this people, that their very children were for a time possessed, and voices heard to sound from their stomachs and entrails: those of riper years fell first into a trance, foamed at the mouth, and recounted the future prosperity and deliverances of the Israelites, their visions of the lion of Judah, and the triumphs of Sabatai, all which were certainly true, being effects of diabolical delusions: as the Jews themselves since have confessed unto me.

With these concomitant accidents and successes, Sabatai Sevi growing more presumptuous, that he might correspond with the greatness and dominion of the Messiah, proceeds

to a selection of those princes which were to govern the Israelites in their march towards the Holy Land, and to dispense judgment and justice after their restoration. The names of them were these which follow, men well known at Smyrna, who never (God knows) had ambition to aspire to the title of princes; until a strange spirit of deceit and delusion had moved them not only to hope for it as possible, but to expect it as certain.

Isaac Silverman was King David.

Solomon Lagnado was Solomon.

Solomon Lagnado, Jun. was David.

Joseph Copen was Uzziah.

Moses Galen was Jehoshaphat.

Daniel Pindo was Hezekiah.

Abraham Scandalan was Josiah.

Mokiah Gaspar was Zedekiah.

Abraham Leon was Ahab.

Ephraim Arditi was Achab.

Solomon Carmont was Achab.

Matasia Aschenski was Ahab.

Meir Alcazar was Ahab.

Isaac Loras was Ahab.

Mordecai Joffermyn was Ahab.

Chaim Hegar was Ahab.

Joseph Scavillo was Ahab.

Isaac Nehemias was Ahab.

Isaac del Caire was Ahab.

Isaac Schavitt was Ahab.

Isaac Rubio was Ahab.

Isaac Schavitt was Ahab.

Isaac Schavitt was Ahab.

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Isaac Schavitt was Ahab.

of greatness, that no comedy could equal the mock-shews they represented; and though nobody durst openly profess any scruple, or doubt of this common received belief, yet for confirmation of the Jews in their faith, and astonishment of the Gentiles, it was judged no less than necessary, that Sabatai should shew some miracles whereby to evince to all the world that he was the true Messiah: and as the present occasion seemed to require an evidence infallible of this truth, so it was daily expected by the vulgar, with an impatience suitable to humours disposed to novelty; who out of every action and motion of their prophet began to fancy something extraordinary and supernatural. Sabatai was now horribly puzzled for a miracle, though the imagination of the people was so vitiated that any legerdemain or flight of hand would have passed more easily with them for a wonder than Moses's striking of the rock for water, or dividing the Red-Sea: And an occasion happening that Sabatai was, in behalf of his subjects, to appear before the Cadi, or judge of the city, to demand ease and relief of some oppressive taxation aggravated them: It was thought necessary, a miracle should now or never, when Sabatai appearing with a formal and pharisaical gravity, which he had starch'd on, some on a sudden avouched to see a pillar of fire between him and the Cadi, which report presently was heard through the whole room, filled with Jews, that accompanied Sabatai, of some of whom, who strongly fancied it, now'd and swore they saw it: others in true outward yard, or that could not conveniently so hear, or see for the crowd as presently took the alarm, and the rumour ran, and belief received by the women and children at once in a moment, so that Sabatai Sevi returned to his home triumphant, fixed in the hearts of his people, who now needed no further muscles to confirm them in their faith. And thus was Sabatai exalted, when no man was thought worthy of commendation who did not believe him to be the Messiah: others were called doubters, infidels, or hereticks, liable to the censure of excommunication, with whom it was not lawful so much as to eat: every man produced his treasure, his gold and jewels, offering them at the feet of Sabatai, so

that

that he could have commanded all the wealth of Smyrna, but he was too subtle to accept the money, lest he should render his design suspected by any act of covetousness. Sabatai Sevi having thus fully fixed himself in Smyrna, and filled other places with rumours of his fame; declared that he was called by God to visit Constantinople, where the greatest part of his work was to be accomplish'd; in order whereunto he privately embarks himself, with some few attendants, in a Turkish saick, in the month of January 1666. lest the crowd of his disciples, and such who would press to follow him, should endanger him in the eyes of the Turks, who already began to be scandalized at the reports and prophecies concerning his person. But though Sabatai took few into the vessel with him, yet a multitude of Jews travelled by land to meet him again at Constantinople, on whom all their eyes and expectations were intent. The wind proving northerly, as commonly it is in the Hellespont and Propontis; Sabatai was thirty-nine days in his voyage, and yet the vessel not arriv'd, so little power had this Messiah over the sea and winds; in which time news being come to Constantinople, that the Jews Messiah was near, all that people prepared to receive him with the same joy and impatience as was express'd in other parts where he arriv'd; the great Visier (then also at Constantinople, being not yet departed on his expedition for Candia) having heard some rumours of this man, and the disorder and madness he had raised amongst the Jews; sent two boats, whilst the saick was detained by contrary winds, with commands to bring him up prisoner to the Port, where accordingly Sabatai being come, was committed to the most loathsome and darkest dungeon in the town, there to remain in farther expectation of the Visier's sentence. The Jews were not at all discouraged at this ill treatment of their prophet, but rather confirmed in their belief of him, as being the accomplishment of the prophecy of those things which ought to precede his glory and dominion; which consideration induc'd the chieftest persons amongst the Jews to make their visits and addressees to him with the same ceremony and respect in the dungeon as they would have done had he then sat

sat exalted on the throne of Israel; several of them, with one Anacago, by name, a man of great esteem amongst the Jews, attended a whole day before him, with their eyes cast down, their bodies bending forward, and hands cross'd before them (which are postures of humility, and service in the eastern countries) the indecency of the place, and present subjection, not having in the least abated their high thoughts and reverence towards his person. The Jews in Constantinople were now become as mad and distracted as they were in other places, all trade and traffick forbidden, and those who owed money, in no manner careful how to satisfy it: amongst which wild crew some were indebted to our merchants at Galata, who not knowing the way to receive their money, partly for their interest, and partly for curiosity thought fit to visit this Sabatai, complaining that such particular Jews, upon his coming, took upon them the boldness to defraud them of their right, desired he would signify to these his subjects, his pleasure to have satisfaction given; whereupon Sabatai, with much affectation, took pen and paper, and wrote to this effect.

TO you of the nation of the Jews, who expect the appearance of the Messiah, and the salvation of Israel, Peace without end. Whereas we are informed that you are indebted to several of the English nation: It seemeth right unto us to enjoin you to make satisfaction to these your just debts: which if you refuse to do, and not obey us herein: Know you, that then you are not to enter with us into our joys and dominions.

In this manner Sabatai Sevi remained a prisoner at Constantinople for the space of two months; at the end of which the Visier having designed his expedition for Candia; and considering the rumour and disturbance the presence of Sabatai had made already at Constantinople, thought it not secure to suffer him to remain in the imperial city, whilst both the Grand Seignior and himself were absent: and therefore changes his prison to the Dardanelli, otherwise called the castle of Abydos, being on the Europe side of the

the Hellespont, opposite to Sestos, places famous in Greek poetry. This removal of Sabatai from a worse prison to one of a better air, confirmed the Jews with greater confidence of his being the Messiah, supposing that had it been in the power of the Visier or other officers of the Turks, to have destroyed his person, they would never have permitted him to have lived to that time, in regard their maxims enforce them to quit all jealousies and suspicions of ruin to their state by the death of the party feared, which much rather they ought to execute one Sabatai, who had not only declared himself king of Israel, but also published prophecies fatal to the Grand Seignior and his kingdoms.

With this consideration, and others preceding, the Jews flock in great number to the castle where he was imprisoned, not only from the neighbouring parts, but also from Poland, Germany, Leghorn, Venice, Amsterdam, and other places where the Jews reside: On all whom, as a reward of the expence, and labours of their pilgrimage, Sabatai bestowed plenty of his benedictions, promising increase of their store and enlargement of their possessions in the Holy Land. And so great was the confluence of the Jews to this place, that the Turks thought it requisite to make their advantage thereof, and so not only raised the price of their provision, lodgings, and other necessities, but also denied to admit any to the presence of Sabatai, unless for money, setting the price sometimes at five, sometimes at ten dollars, or more or less, according as they guessed at their abilities, or zeal of the person, by which gain and advantage to the Turks no complaints or advices were carried to Adrianople, either of the concourse of people, or arguments amongst the Jews in that place, but rather all civilities, and liberty indulged unto them, which served as a farther argument to ensnare this poor people in the belief of their Messiah.

During this time of confinement, Sabatai had leisure to compose and institute a new method of worship for the Jews, and principally the manner of the celebration of the day of his nativity, which he prescribed in this manner.

BRTHREN and my people, men of religion inhabiting the city of Smyrna the renowned, where live men, and women, and families; peace be unto you from the Lord of peace, and from me his beloved Son, king Solomon. I command you that the ninth day of the month of Ab (which according to our account answered that year to the month of June) next to come, you make a day of invitation, and of great joy, celebrateng it with choice meats and pleasing drinks, with many candles and lamps, with musick and songs, because it is the day of the birth of Sabatai Sevi, the high king above all kings of the earth. And as to matters of labour, and other things of like nature, do, as becomes you upon a day of festival, adorned with your finest garments. As to your prayers, let the same order be used as upon festivals. To converse with christians on that day is unlawful, though your discourse be matters indifferent, all labour is forbidden, but to sound instruments is lawful. This shall be the method and substance of your prayers on this day of festival: After you have said, "Blessed be thou, O holy God!" then proceed and say, "Thou hast chosen us before all people, and hast loved us, and hast been delighted with us, and hast humbled us more than all other nations, and hast sanctified us with thy precepts, and hast brought us near to thy service, and the service of our king. Thy holy, great, and terrible name thou hast published amongst us: and hast given us, O Lord God, according to thy love, times of joy, of festivals, and times of mirth, and this day of consolation for a solemn convocation of holiness, for the birth of our king the Messiah, Sabatai Sevi thy servant, and first born son in love, through whom we commemorate our coming out of Egypt" And then you shall read for your lessons, the first, second, and third chapters of Deuteronomy, to the seventeenth verse, appointing for the reading thereof five men, in a perfect and uncorrupted bible, adding thereunto the blessings of the morning, as are prescribed for days of festival, and for the lesson out of the prophets usually read in the synagogue every sabbath, you shall read the thirty-first chapter of Jeremiah. To your prayer called *Musaff* (used in the synagogue every sabbath and solemn

festival) you shall adjoin that of the present festival; instead of the sacrifice of addition, of the returning of the bible to its place, you shall read with an audible voice and clear sound, the ninety-fifth Psalm. And at the first praises in the morning, after you have sung Psalm ninety-one, and just before you sing Psalm ninety-eight, you shall repeat Psalm one hundred and thirty-two, but in the last verse, where it is said, "As for his enemies I shall cloath them with shame, but upon himself shall his crown flourish;" in the place of (upon himself) you shall read, "Upon the most high:" after which shall follow the hundred and twenty-sixth Psalm, and then the hundred and thirteenth to the hundred and nineteenth.

At the consecration of the wine upon the vigil, or eve, you shall make mention of the feast of consolation, which is the day of the birth of our king the Messiah Sabatai Sewi, thy servant and first-born son, giving the blessing as followeth: "Blessed be thou our God, king of the world, who hast made us to live, and hast maintain'd us, and hast kept us alive unto this time." Upon the eve of this day you shall read also the eighty-first Psalm, as also the hundred and thirty-second, and the hundred and twenty-sixth Psalms, which are appointed for the morning praises. And this day shall be unto you for a remembrancer of a solemn day unto eternal ages, and a perpetual testimony between me, and the sons of Israel.

Audite audiendo & manducate bonum.

"In bearing bear, and enjoy good."

Besides which order, and method of prayers for solemnization of his birth, he prescribed other rules for divine service, and particularly published the same indulgence and privilege to every one who should pray at the tomb of his mother; as if he had taken on him a pilgrimage to pray, and sacrifice at Jerusalem.

The devotion of the Jews towards this pretended Messiah, increased still more and more, so that not only the chief of the city went to attend, and proffer their service toward him in the time of his imprisonment, but likewise
decked

decked their synagogue with S. S. in letters of gold, making for him on the wall a crown, in the circle of which was wrote the ninety first Psalm at length in fair and legible characters; attributing the same titles to Sabatai, and expounding the scriptures in the same manner in favour of his appearance, as we do of our Saviour. However, some of the Jews remained in their wits all this time, amongst which was a certain Cocham at Smyrna, one zealous of his law, and of the good and safety of his nation: And observing in what a wild manner the whole people of the Jews were transported with the groundless belief of a Messiah, leaving not only their trade, and course of living, but publishing prophecies of a speedy kingdom, of rescue from the tyranny of the Turk, and leading the Grand Seignior himself captive in chains: matters so dangerous and obnoxious to the state wherein they lived, as might justly convict them of treason and rebellion, and leave them to the mercy of that justice, which on the least jealousy and suspicion of matters of this nature, uses to extirpate families, and subvert the mansion-houses of their own people, much rather of the Jews, on whom the Turks would gladly take occasion to despoil them of their estates, and condemn the whole nation to perpetual slavery. And indeed it would have been a greater wonder than ever Sabatai shewed, that the Turks took no advantage from all these extravagances, to drain the Jews of a considerable sum of money, and set their whole race in Turkey at a ransom, had not these passages yielded them matter of pastime, and been the subject of laughter and scorn of the Turks; supposing it a disparagement to the greatness of the Ottoman Empire, to be concerned for the rumours and combustions of this dispersed people. With these considerations this Cocham, that he might clear himself of the blood and guilt of his countrymen, and concern'd in the common destruction, went to the Cadi, and there protests against the present doctrine; declaring, that he had no hand in setting up of Sabatai, but was an enemy both to him and his whole sect. This freedom of the Cocham so enraged and scandalized the Jews, that they judged no condemnation or punishment too severe against

against such an offender and blasphemer of their law, and holiness of the Messiah; and therefore with money and presents to the Cadi, accusing him as disobedient in a capital nature to their government, obtained sentence against him, to have his beard shaved, and to be condemned to the galleys. There wanted nothing now to the appearance of the Messiah, and the solemnity of his coming, but the presence of Elias, whom the Jews began to expect hourly; and with that intention and earnestness, that every dream or phantasm to a weak head was judged to be Elias; it being taught, and averred, that he was seen in divers forms and shapes, not to be certainly discovered or known, before the coming of the Messiah; for this superstition is so far fixed amongst them, that generally in their families they spread a table for Elias the prophet, to which they make an invitation of poor people, leaving the chief place for the Lord Elias, whom they believe to be invisibly present at the entertainment, and there to eat and drink, without diminution, either of the dishes, or of the cup. One person amongst the Jews commanded his wife, after a supper of this kind, to leave the cup filled with wine, and the meat standing all night, for Elias to feast and rejoice alone; and in the morning arising early, affirmed, that Elias took his banquet so kindly, that in token of gratitude and acceptance, he had replenished the cup with oil instead of wine. It is a certain custom among the Jews, on the evening of the sabbath, to repeat certain praises of God (called Havaila) which signifies a distinction, or separation of the sabbath from the profane days (as they call them) which praises they observe to perform in this manner; They take a cup filled with wine, and sprinkle it through the whole house, saying, Elias the prophet, Elias the prophet, Elias the prophet, come quickly to us with the Messiah, the Son of God, and David; and this they affirm to be so acceptable to Elias, that he never fails to preserve that family, so devoted to him, and augment it with the blessings of increase. Many other things the Jews avouch of Elias, so ridiculous, as are not fit to be declar'd, amongst which this one is not far from our purpose, that at the circumcision there is always plac'd

lac'd a chair for Elias, and Sabatai Sevi being once invited to Smyrna to the circumcision of the first-born son of one Abraham Gutiere, a kinsman of Sabatai, and all things ready for the ceremony, Sabatai Sevi exhorted the parents of the child to expect awhile until his farther order: After half an hour Sabatai order'd them to proceed and cut the repuce of the child, which they instantly perform'd with all joy and satisfaction to the parents: and being, soon after, demanded the reason why he retarded the performance of that function, he answer'd, That Elias had not as yet taken his seat, whom as soon as he saw him placed, he order'd them to proceed; and that row shortly Elias would discover himself openly, and proclaim the news of the general redemption.

This being the common opinion amongst the Jews, and that Sabatai Sevi was the Messiah, being become an article of faith, it was easy to persuade them that Elias was come already, that they met him in their dishes, in the dark, in their bed-chambers, or any-where else invisible, in the same manner that our common people in England believe of hobgoblins and fairies. For so it was, when Solomon Cremona, an inhabitant of Smyrna; making a great feast, to which the principal Jews of the city were invited, after they had eaten and drank freely, one of them stood up, and avouch'd that he saw Elias upon the wall, and then shew'd to him, and complimented him with all reverence and humility: some others having, in like manner, their fancies prepossessed, and their eyes with the fume of wine ill prepared to distinguish shadows, immediately agreed upon the object, and then there was not one in the company who could say he did not see him: at which surprize every one were struck with reverence and awe; and the most eloquent amongst them, having their tongues loosed with joy, and wine, directed orations, encomiums, and acts of thankfulness to Elias, courting and complimenting him, as distracted lovers do the supposed pretence of their mistresses. Another Jew at Constantinople reported that he met Elias in the street, habited like a Turk, with whom he had a long communication; and that he enjoin'd the observation of

of many neglected ceremonies, and particularly the Zezit, Numb. xv. 38 *Speak unto the children of Israel, and bid them that they make fringes in the borders of their garments, throughout their generations, and that they put upon the fringe of the border a ribband of blue.* Also the Peos, Lev. xix. 27. *Ye shall not round the corners of your head, nor marr the corners of your beard:* The apparition of Elias being now generally believed, every one began to obey the vision, by fringing their garments: and shaving their heads according to the Turkish and Eastern fashion, and that the suffering hair to grow, to men not accustomed, was heavy and troublesome to their health and head; yet to begin again to renew, all in their power, the antient ceremonies, every one nourished a lock of hair on each side, which might be visible enough beneath their caps; which soon after began to be a sign of distinction between the believers and kophrims, a name of dishonour, signifying an unbeliever, or heretick, given to those who confessed not Sabatai to be the Messiah; which particulars, if not observed, it were declared as a menace of Elias, that the people of the Jews, who come from the river Sabbatian, as is specified in the second of Esdras, chap. xiii. shall take vengeance of those who are guilty of these omissions.

But to return again to Sabatai Sevi himself, we find him still remaining a prisoner in the castle of Abydos upon the Hellespont, admired and adored by his brethren, with more honour than before, and visited by pilgrims from all parts where the fame of the coming of the Messiah had arrived; amongst which one from Poland, named Nehemiah Cohen, was of special note and renown, learned in the Hebrew, Syriack, and Chaldee, and versed in the doctrine and cabala of the Rabbins, as well as Sabatai himself (one of whom it was said) had not this Sevi anticipated the design, esteemed himself as able a fellow to act the part of a Messiah as the other: Howsoever, it being now too late to publish any such pretence, Sabatai having now eleven points of the law, by possession of the office, and with that the hearts and belief of the Jews, Nehemiah was contented with some small appendage, or relation to Messiah; and therefore

fore to lay his design the better, desired a private conference with Sabatai: These two great Rabbins being together, a hot dispute arose between them: For Cohen alledged, that according to scripture, and exposition of the learned thereupon, there were to be two Messiahs, one called Ben Ephraim, and the other Ben David; the first was to be a preacher of the law, poor, and despised, and a servant of the second, and his fore-runner; the other was to be great and rich, to restore the Jews to Jerusalem, to sit upon the throne of David, and to perform and act all those triumphs and conquests which were expected from Sabatai. Nehemiah was contented to be Ben Ephraim, the afflicted and poor Messiah and Sabatai, (for any thing I hear) was well enough contented he should be so: But that Nehemiah accused him for being too forward in publishing himself the latter Messiah, before Ben Ephraim had first been known unto the world. Sabatai took this reprehension so ill, either out of pride, and thoughts of his own infallibility, or that he suspected Nehemiah, being once admitted for Ben Ephraim, would quickly (being a subtle and learned person) persuade the world that he was Ben David, would by no means understand or admit of this doctrine, or of Ben Ephraim for a necessary officer: And thereupon the dispute grew so hot, and the controversy so irreconcilable, as was taken notice of by the Jews, and controverted amongst them as every one fancy'd: But Sabatai being of greater authority, his sentence prevailed, and Nehemiah was rejected, as Schismatical, and an enemy to the Messiah, which afterward proved the ruin and downfall of this impostor.

For Nehemiah being thus baffled, and being a person of authority, and a haughty spirit, meditated nothing but revenge; to execute which to the full, he takes a journey to Adrianople, and there informs the chief ministers of state, and officers of the court, who (by reason of the gain the Turks made of their prisoner at the castle on the Hellespont) heard nothing of all this concourse of people, and prophecies of the revolt of the Jews from their obedience to the Grand Seignior, and taking likewise to his council some certain discontented and unbelieving Cochans. Who be-

ing zealous for their nation, and jealous of the ill consequences of this long continued, and increasing madness, took liberty to inform the Chimcham (who was deputy of the great Visier then at Candia) that the Jew, prisoner at the castle, called Sabatai Sevi, was a lewd person, and one who endeavour'd to debauch the minds of the Jews, and divert them from their honest course of livelihood, and obedience to the Grand Seignior, and that therefore it was necessary to clear the world of so factious and dangerous a spirit: The Chimcham being thus informed, could do no less than acquaint the Grand Seignior with all particulars of this man's condition, course of life, and doctrine; which were no sooner understood, but a Chiaux, or messenger, was immediately dispatched, to bring up Sabatai Sevi to Adrianople. The Chiaux executed his commission after the Turkish fashion, in haste, and brought Sabatai in a few days to Adrianople, without further excuse or ceremony; not affording him an hour's time to take a solemn farewell of his friends, his followers and adorers; who now were come to the vertical point of all their hopes and expectations.

The Grand Seignior having by this time received divers informations of the madness of the Jews, and the pretences of Sabatai, grew big with desire and expectation to see him: so that he no sooner arrived at Adrianople, but he was brought before the Grand Seignior, who ask'd him several questions, but he would not trust so far to the vertue of his Messiah-ship, as to deliver himself in the Turkish language; therefore desired a doctor of physick (who had from a Jew turn'd Turk) to be his interpreter, which was granted him; but not without reflection of the standers-by; that had he been the Messiah, and Son of God, as he formerly pretended, his tongue would have flown with variety, as well as with the perfection of languages. But the Grand Seignior would not be put off without a miracle, and it must be one of his own choice: which was, that Sabatai should be strip'd naked, and set as a mark to his dexterous archers, if the arrows pierced not his body, but that his flesh and skin was proof like armour, then he would believe him to be the Messiah, and the person whom God had designed to those dominions, and

and greatness, he pretended. But now Sabatai not having faith enough to stand to so sharp a trial, renounced all his title to kingdoms and governments, alledging that he was an ordinary Cocham, and a poor Jew, as others were, and had nothing of privilege, or vertue, above the rest. The Grand Seignior notwithstanding, not wholly satisfied with this plain confession, declared, that having given publick scandal to the professors of the Mahometan religion, and done dishonour to his sovereign authority, by pretending to draw such a considerable portion from him, as the land of Palestine; his treason and crime was not to be expiated by any other means than by a conversion to the Mahometan faith, which if he refus'd to do, the stake was ready at the gate of the Seraglio to empale him. Sabatai being now reduced to extremity of his latter game; not being in the least doubtful what to do; for to die for what he was assured was false, was against nature, and the death of a mad man: replied with much chearfulness, that he was contented to turn Turk, and that it was not of force, but of choice, having been a long time desirous of so glorious a profession, he esteemed himself much honoured, that he had opportunity to own it first in the presence of the Grand Seignior. And here was the *non plus ultra* of all the bluster and noise of this vain impostor.

And now the reader may be pleased to pause awhile, and contemplate the strange point of consternation, shame, and silence to which the Jews were reduc'd, when they understood how speedily their hopes were vanish'd, and how poorly and ignominiously all their fancies and promises of a new kingdom, their pageantry, and offices of devotion, were past like a tale, or a midnight's dream. And all this was concluded, and the Jews sunk on a sudden, and wholly disappointed in their hopes, without so much as a line of comfort, or excuse from Sabatai, more than in general, to all the brethren: That now they should apply themselves to their callings and services of God, as formerly, for that matters relating unto him were finished, and the sentence pass'd. The news that Sabatai was turned Turk, and the Messiah to a Mahometan, quickly fill'd all parts of Turkey.

The Jews were strangely surprised at it, and ashamed of their easy belief of the arguments with which they had persuaded each other, and of the proselytes they had made in their own families. Abroad they became the common derision of the towns where they inhabited: The children shouted after them, coining a new word at Smyrna (Ponsai) which every one, seeing a Jew, with a finger pointed out, would pronounce with scorn and contempt: so that this deceived people for a long time after remained with confusion, silence, and dejection of spirit. And yet most of them affirm that Sabatai is not turned Turk, but his shadow only remains on earth, and walks with a white head, and in the habit of a Mahometan: but that his natural body and soul are taken into heaven, there to reside until the time appointed for the accomplishment of these wonders; and this opinion began so commonly to take place, as if this people resolved never to be undeceived, using the forms and rules for devotion prescribed them by their Mahometan Messiah: Insomuch that the Cohanim of Constantinople fearing the danger of this error might creep up, and equal the former, condemned the belief of Sabatai being Messiah, as damnable, and enjoined them to return to the antient method and service of God, upon pain of excommunication. The stile and tenure of them was as followeth.

To you who have the power of priesthood, and are the knowing, learned, and magnanimous governors and princes, residing in the city of Smyrna, may the Almighty God protect you, Amen: for so is his will.

THESSE our letters which we send in the midst of your habitations, are upon occasion of certain rumours and tumults come to our ears from that city of your holiness. For there is a sort of men amongst you, who fortify themselves in this error and say, let such a one, our king, live, and bless him in their publick synagogues every Sabbath-day.

And

and also adjoin psalms and hymns, invented by that man, for certain days, with rules and methods for prayer, which ought to be done, and yet they will still remain obstinate therein; and now behold it is known unto you, how many travelling traders have passed over our souls for his sake; for had it not been for the mercies of God, which are without end, and the merit of our fore-fathers, which have assisted us, the foot of Israel had been erased out by their enemies. And yet you continue obstinate in things which do not help, but rather do mischief, which God avert. Turn you therefore, for this is the true way, but restore the crown to the antient custom and use of your fore-fathers, and the law, and from thence not move. We command you, that with your authority, under pain of excommunication, and other penalties, that all these ordinances and prayers, as well those delivered by the mouth of that man, as those which he enjoined by the mouth of others, be all abolished and made void, and to be found no more, and that they never enter more into your hearts, but judge according to the antient commandment of your fore-fathers, repeating the same lessons and prayers every sabbath as hath been customary, as also collects for kings, potentates, and princes, &c. And bless the king, Sultan Mahomet, for in his days hath great salvation been wrought for Israel, and come not rebels to his kingdom, which God forbid. For after all this which is past, the least motion will be a cause of jealousy, and you will bring ruin upon your own persons, and upon all which is near and dear to you; wherefore abstain from the thoughts of the man, and let not so much as his name proceed out of your mouths. For know, if you will not obey herein, it will be known, who, and what those men are, who refuse to conform unto us, and we are resolved to prosecute them, as our duty is. He that doth hear, and obey us, may the blessing of God rest upon him. These are the words of those who seek your good, having in Constantinople, on Sunday the fifth of the month Sewat, underwrote their names,

Joab Tob, son of Chanaiah Ben Jacar.
 Isaac Alnacagna. Manasseh Barnardo.
 Joseph Kazabi. Kalib, son of Samuel.

Eliezer

Eliezer Castie.

Joseph Accohen.

Eliezer Gherfon.

Eliezer Aluff.

During the time of all these transactions and passages at Constantinople, Smyrna, Abydos upon the Hellespont, and Adrianople, the Jews leaving their mercantile course, and advising what prizes commodities bear, and matters of Traffick, stuffed their letters for Italy and other parts, with nothing but wonders and miracles wrought by their false Messiah. As, then when the Grand Seignior sent to take him, he caused all the messengers immediately to die, upon which other Janizaries being again sent, they all fell dead with a word only from his mouth: and being desired to revive them again, he immediately recall'd them to life but of them only such who were true Turks, and not those who had denied that faith in which they were born, and had professed. After this they added, that he went voluntarily to prison, and though the gates were barr'd and shut with strong locks of iron, yet he was seen to walk through the streets with a numerous attendance, and when they laid shackles on his neck and feet, they not only fell from him but were converted into gold, with which he gratified his true and faithful believers and disciples. Some miracles also were reported of Nathan, that only at reading the name of any particular man or woman, he would immediately recount the story of his or her life, their sins or defaults, and accordingly impose just correction and penance for them. These strong reports coming thus confidently into Italy and all parts, the Jews of Casal di Montserrat resolved to send three persons in behalf of their society, in the nature of extraordinary Legates to Smyrna, to make enquiry after the truth of all these rumours, who accordingly arrived in Smyrna, full of expectation and hopes, intending to present themselves with great humility and submission before their Messiah, and his prophet Nathan, were entertained with the sad news, that Sabatai was turned Turk, by which information the character of their embassy in a manner ceasing, every one of them laying aside the formality of his function, endeavoured to lodge himself best to his own convenience.

nience. But that they might return to their brethren at
me, with the certain particulars of the success of these
airs, they made a visit to the brother of Sabatai; who
l continued to persuade them, that Sabatai was not-
withstanding the true Messiah, that it was not he who
d taken on him the habit and form of a Turk,
t his angel or spirit, his body being ascended into
aven, until God shall again see the season, and time to
fore it; adding further, that an effect hereof they should
by the prophet Nathan, certified, now every day ex-
sted, who having wrought miracles in many places,
uld also for their consolation, reveal hidden secrets unto
em with which they should not only remain satisfied, but
onished. With this only hope of Nathan, these Legates
re a little comforted, resolving to attend his arrival, in
ard they had a letter to consign into his hands, and ac-
cording to their instructions, were to demand of him the
ounds he had for his prophecies, and what assurance he
d, that he was divinely inspir'd, and how these things
re reveal'd unto him, which he had committed to paper,
d dispersed to all parts of the world. At length Nathan
ives near Smyrna, on Friday the third of March, to-
rds the evening, and on Sunday these Legates made their
t to him: But Nathan, upon news of the success of his
oved Messiah, began to grow sullen and reserved: so
t the Legates could scarce procure admittance to him;
that they could do was to inform him, that they had a
er to him from the brotherhood of Italy, and commis-
sion to confer with him concerning the foundation and au-
rity he had for his prophecies; but Nathan refused to
e the letter, ordering Kain Abolasio, a Cocham of the
of Smyrna, to receive it; so that the Legates returned
contented, but yet with hopes at Nathan's arrival at
yrna to receive better satisfaction.
But whilst Nathan intended to enter into Smyrna, the
chams of Constantinople, being before advised of his re-
tion to take a journey into their parts, not knowing by
ch way he might come, sent their letters and orders to
rna, Prussia, and every way round, to hinder his passage,
and

and interrupt his journey; fearing that thing beginning now to compose, the Turks appeas'd for the former disorders and the minds of the Jews in some manner settled, might be moved, and combustions burst out afresh, by the appearance of this new impostor; and therefore dispatched this letter as followeth.

To you who are the Shepherds of Israel, and rulers who preside for the great God of the whole world, in the city of Smyrna, which is a mother in Israel, to her princes, her priests, her judges, and especially to the perfect wise men, and of great experience, may the Lord God cause you to live before him and delight in the multitude of peace, Amen so be the will of the Lord.

THESSE our letters are dispatched unto you, to let you understand, that in the place of your holiness, we have heard the learned man, which was in Gaza, called Nathan Benjamine, hath published vain doctrines, and made the world tremble at his words and inventions: And that at this time we have received advice, that this man some day since, departed from Gaza, and took his journey by the way of Scanderoon, intending there to embark for Smyrna, and thence to go to Constantinople or Adrianople: And though it seem a strange thing unto us, that any man should have a desire to throw himself into a place of flames and fire, and into the sparks of hell; notwithstanding we ought to fear, and suspect it; For the feet of man always guide him to the worst. Wherefore we under-written do advertise you, that this man coming within the compass of your jurisdiction, you give a stop to his journey, and not suffer him to proceed farther, but presently to return back. For we would have you know, that at his coming, he will again begin to move those tumults which have been caused through the imaginations of a new king-

kingdom; and that miracles are not to be wrought every day.

God forbid that by his coming the people of God should be destroyed in all places where they are, of which he will be the first, whose blood be upon his own head: For in this conjuncture, every little error or fault is made capital. You may remember the danger of the first combustion. And it is very probable that he will be an occasion of greater, which the tongue is not able to express with words. And therefore by virtue of ours, and your own authority, you are to hinder him from proceeding farther in his journey, upon pain of all those excommunications which our law can impose, and to force him to return back again, both he and his company. But if he shall in any manner oppose you, and rebel against your word, your endeavours and law are sufficient to hinder him, for it will be well for him and all Israel.

For the love of God, let these words enter your ears, since they are not vain things; for the lives of all the Jews, and his also, consist therein. And the Lord God behold from heaven and have pity upon his people Israel, Amen. So be his holy will: written by those who seek your peace.

Joab Tob, son of Chanania Jacar.

Moise Benveniste,

Caleb, son of Cocham Sa,

Isaac Alcenacagne,

muel, deceased,

Joseph Kazabi,

Elihezer Aluff,

Samuel Acazzine,

Jehoshuah Raphael,

Moise Barndo,

Benveniste.

By these means Nathan being disappointed of his wandering progress, and partly ashamed of the event of things, contrary to his prophecy, was resolved, without entering Synrna, to return again: Howsoever, he obtained leave to visit the sepulchre of his mother, and there to receive pardon of his sins (according to the institution of Sabatai before mentioned) but first washed himself in the sea, in manner of purification, and said his taphilla, or prayers, at the fountain Sancta Veneranda; which is near to the cemetery of the Jews, and then departed for Scio, with two companies,

a servant, and three Turks to conduct him, without admitting the Legates to audience, or answering the letter which was sent him, from all the communities of the Jews in Italy. And thus the embassy of these Legates was concluded, and they return'd to the place from whence they came, and the Jews again to their wits, following their trade of merchandize and brokerage as formerly, with more quiet, and advantage, than the means of regaining their possessions in the Land of Promise. And thus ended this mad phrensy amongst the Jews, which might have cost them dear, had not Sabatai renounc'd his Messiah-ship at the fest of Mahomet.

These matters were transacted in the years 1665, and 1666. since which Sabatai hath passed his time devoutly in the Ottoman court, educated at the feet of the learned Gamaliel of the Turkish law, that is, Vanni Effendi, preacher to the Seraglio, or as we may so term him, chaplain to the Sultan, one so literate as to be esteemed the grand oracle of their religion, so precise and conceited of his own sanctity as a pharisee, and so superstitious that nothing seemed more to unhallow his worship than the touch or approach of a christian. To this master Sabatai was a most docil scholar, and profited, as we may imagine, beyond measure in the Turkish doctrine, so that in exchange of such impressions, Vanni thought it no disparagement, for so great a Rabbín as his new disciple, to learn something of the Jewish rites, and rectify those crude notions he had conceived of the Mosaical law; in this manner Sabatai passed his time in the Turkish court, as sometime Moses did in that of the Egyptians, and perhaps in imitation of him, cast his eyes often on the afflictions of his brethren, of whom during his life he continued to profess himself a deliverer, but with that care and caution of giving scandal to the Turks, that he declared unless their nation became like him, that is, renounce the shadows, and imperfect elements of the Mosaical law, which will be compleated by adherence to the Mahometan, and such other additions as his inspired wisdom should suggest, he should never be able to prevail with God for them, or conduct them to the
holy

holy land of their Fore-fathers: hereupon many Jews flocked in, some as far as from Babylon, Jerusalem and other remote places, and casting their caps on the ground in the presence of the Grand Seignior, voluntarily professed themselves Mahometans: Sabatai himself, by these proselytes, gaining ground in the esteem of the Turks, had privilege granted him to visit familiarly his brethren, which he employed in circumcising their children the eighth day, according to the precept of Moses, preaching his new doctrines by which he confirmed many in their faith of his being the Messiah, and startled all with expectation of what these strange ways of enthusiasm might produce, but none durst publicly own him, least they should displease the Turks, and the Jews, and incur the danger of excommunication from one, and the gallows from the other.

Howsoever, in January 1671, appeared another bold impostor amongst the Jews in Smyrna from Morea, as it was said, or not known from whence, who in despite of Sabatai, and his own governors, pretended to be the Messiah; but with so petty and inconsiderable a deluder as this, the Jews thought to make quick work, but being ashamed at first to bring another Messiah on the stage, by help of money they accused him of adultery, and procured a sentence from the Kadi, condemning him to the gallies; in order unto which, and in proof his good behaviour, he remained some time in prison, in which interim he found means to clear himself of that crime by open evidence to the contrary, and had for the present escaped out of the power of the synagogue had not their authority and money prevailed more than the friends and disciples of this impostor; so that he was still detained in prison, and Sabatai Bevi continued in the house of Pharaoh, or the Grand Seignior, where he remained till the year 1676, and then died.

*The fatal and final Extirpation and Destruction
of the Jews out of the Empire of Persia, begun
in 1663, and continuing till 1666, and the
Occasion thereof.*

YOU have heard in the foregoing relation, from what glorious expectations the whole nation of the Jews were precipitated by the deceitful and unsuccessful villany of their late pretended Messiah: You will in this narration perceive farther, how signally the hand of Almighty God (about the same time) went out to their yet greater shame and extermination: And if any thing were capable to reduce that miserably deluded people, certainly one would think, these continued frowns and accents of his displeasure against all their enterprises; as it ought to confirm the truth of the christian profession, so it should even constrain them to hasten to it; *For that wrath is come upon them to the uttermost.*

In the reign of the famous Abas, Sophy of Persia, and Grand-father to the present Emperor, the nation being low, and somewhat exhausted of inhabitants, it entered into the mind of this prince (a wise and prudent man, and one who exceedingly studied the benefit of his subjects) to seek some expedient for the revival and improvement of trade, and by all manner of privileges and immunities to encourage other contiguous nations to negotiate and trade amongst them; and this project he fortified with so many immunities, and used them so well who came, that repairing from all parts to his country, in a short time the whole kingdom was filled with multitudes of the most industrious people and strangers that any way bordered on him.

It happened, that amongst those who came, that a great number of Jews ran thither from all their dispersions in the east; attracted by the gain, which they universally make where-ever they set footing, by their innate craft, sacred avarice, and the excessive extortions which they continually practise.

practice. And it was not many years but by this means, they had so impoverished the rest, especially the natural subjects of Persia, that the clamour of it reached to the ears of the Emperor; and indeed it was intolerable, for even his own exchequer began to be sensible of it, as well as his people's purses and estates, which they had almost devoured.

How to repress this inormity, and remedy this inconvenience, without giving umbrage to the rest of those profitable strangers now settled in his dominions, by falling severely upon the Jews on the sudden, he long consulted; and for that end call'd to his advice his chief ministers of state, the Mufli, and expounders of the law. After much dispute 'twas at last found, that the Jews had already long since forfeited their lives by the very text of the Alcoran; where it is exprets'd, That if within 600 years from the promulgation of that religion, they did not universally come to, and profess the Mahometan faith, they should be destroyed. The zealous Emperor would immediately have put his edict in execution; but by the intercession of the Mufli, and the rest of the doctors, 'twas thought fit to suspend it for the present: But that these growing evils might in time have a period; his majesty commanded that the Chochammi, Rabbins, and Chief amongst the Jews, should immediately appear before his tribunal, and make answer to some objections that were to be propounded to them.

The Jews being accordingly convened, the Sophy examines them about several passages of their law, and particularly concerning the prophet Moles, and those rites of which seemed to have been so long annihilated amongst them, since the coming of Ilai (for so they call Jesus) after whom they pretend their Mahomet was to take place, and all other predictions to determine.

The Jews, much terrified with the manner of these interrogatories, and dubious what the meaning and drift of them might signify, told the Emperor; That for Christ they did not believe in him, but that they expected a Messiah of their own to come, who should by his miraculous power deliver

liver them from their oppressors, and subdue all the world to his obedience.

At this reply the Sophy appeared to be much incensed: How! says he, Do you not then believe Christ, of whom our very Alcoran makes so honourable mention? as that he was the spirit of God, sent down from him, and returning to him, &c. If we believe him, Why do not you? What say you for yourselves, you incredulous wretches? The confounded Jews perceiving the Emperor thus provoked, immediately prostrated themselves on the ground, humbly supplicating him to take pity on his slaves, who acknowledged themselves altogether unable to dispute with his majesty, That for the christians, they seemed indeed to them to be gross idolators: Men who did not worship God but a crucified malefactor, and a deceiver, which still the more displeased the Sophy; not induring they should so blaspheme a person for whom their Alcoran had so great reverence: However, for the present he dissembles his resentment; 'Tis well, says he, you do not believe the God of the christians: But tell me, What think you of our great prophet Mahomet? This demand exceedingly perplexed them, not knowing what to reply: and indeed it was contrived on purpose, that convincing them of blasphemy (as they esteemed it) against their prophet, the Sophy might find a specious and legal pretence to ruin and destroy them without giving any jealousy or suspicion to the rest of the strangers, who were trafficking in his country, of several other religions, but who were not in the least obnoxious to his displeasure.

After a long pause and secret conference with one another, it was at last resolved among them, That though they had deny'd Christ, they would yet say nothing positively against Mahomet: Therefore they told the Emperor; though their religion did forbid them to believe any prophet save Moses, &c. yet they did not hold Mahomet for a false prophet, in as much as he was descended of Ismael, the son of Abraham; and that they desired to remain his majesty's humble vassals and slaves, and craved his pity on them.

The Sophy easily perceiving the cunning and wary subterfuge of their reply, told them ; This should not serve their turn : That they were a people of dissolute principles, and that under pretence of their long expected Messiah they persisted in a false religion, and kept off from profelyting to the true belief ; and therefore required of them to set a positive time when their Messiah was to appear ; for that he would support them no longer who had impos'd on the world, and cheated his people now so many years ; but withal assuring them that he would both pardon and protect them for the time they should assign, provided they did not go about to abuse him by any incompetent procrastinations, but assign the year precisely of his coming ; when if accordingly he did not appear, they were sons of death, and should all of them either renounce their faith, or be certainly destroy'd, and their estates confiscated.

The poor Jews, though infinitely confounded with this unexpected demand, and resolution of the Sophy ; after a second consultation among themselves, (which the Emperor granted) contriv'd to give him this answer : that according to their books and prophecies, their Messiah should infallibly appear within seventy years ; prudently (as they thought) believing, that either the Emperor or they should be all of them dead before that time ; and that, in the interim, such alterations might emerge, as all this would be forgotten, or averted ; and that at the worst a large sum of money would reverse the sentence. But that something was of necessity to be promised to satisfy his present humorous zeal.

The Emperor accepts of the answer, and immediately causes it to be recorded in form of a solemn stipulation between them ; That in case there were no news of their Messiah within the seventy years assign'd (to which, of grace, he added five more) they should either turn Mahometans, or their whole nation utterly be destroyed throughout Persia, and their substance confiscated : but with this clause also inserted ; That if their Messiah did appear within that period, the Emperor would himself be obliged to become a Jew, and make all his subjects so with him ; this drawn (as we said)

said) in form of an instrument, was reciprocally sign'd and seal'd on both parts, and the Jews for the present dismiss'd ; with the payment yet of no less than two millions of gold (as my author affirms) for the favour of this long indulgence.

Since the time of this Emperor Abas, to the present Sophy now reigning there, are not only these seventy years past, but one hundred and fifteen expired ; during which the Persians have been so molested by the Turks, and by continual war in the East-Indies, &c. that the succeeding princes no more minded this stipulation of their predecessors, till by a wonderful accident in the reign of the second Abas, (father of him who now governs) a person extremely curious of antiquities, searching one day amongst the records of his palace, there was found this writing in the journal of his father, intimating what had so solemnly pass'd between him and the chiefs of the Jews in the name of their whole nation.

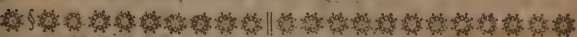
Upon this the Sophy instantly summon'd a council, produces the instrument before them, and requires their advice, what was to be done, and the, rather, for that there-began now to be great whispers, and some letters had been written to them from merchants out of Turkey, of the motions of a pretended Messiah, which was the famous Sabatai : This so wrought with the Emperor and his council, that with one voice, and without longer pause, they immediately concluded upon the destruction of the Jews, and that this wicked generation of impostors and oppressors of his people were no longer to be indured upon the earth.

In order to this resolution, proclamations are issued out and publish'd to the people, and to all that were strangers and inhabitants amongst them, empowering them to fall immediately upon the Jews in all the Persian dominions, and to put to the sword man, woman, and child, except those that would forthwith turn to the Mahometan belief ; and to seize on their goods and estates without any remorse or pity.

This cruel and bloody arrest was accordingly put in execution first at Isphahan, and suddenly afterwards in all the rest of the cities and towns of Persia. Happy was he that

could

could escape the fury of the enraged people, who by virtue of the publick sentence grounded upon the declared stipulation, and now more encouraged by the dwindling of their pretended Messiah, had no commiseration on them, but slew and made havock of them, wherever they could find a Jew through all their vast territories; falling upon the spoil, and continuing the carnage to their utter extermination. Nor did the persecution cease for several years, beginning about the year sixty-three, and continuing till sixty-six, at Ispahan, the cities and countries of Scyra, Ghelan, Humadan, Ardan, Tauris, and in sum, thro' the whole Empire, without sparing either sex or age, excepting (as was said) such as turned Mahometans, or escaped through the desarts into Turkey, India, and other far distant regions, and that without hopes of ever re-establishing themselves for the future in Persia, the hatred of the people being so deadly and irreconcilable against them. And in truth, this late action and miscarriage of their pretended Messiah, has rendered them so universally despicable, that nothing but a determined obstinacy, and an evident and judicial malediction, from heaven, could possibly continue them in that prodigious blindness, out of which, yet, God of his infinite mercy one day deliver them, that they may at last see, and believe on him whom they have pierced; that so both Jew and Gentile may make one flock, under that one shepherd and bishop of our souls, Jesus Christ the True MESSIAH. *Amen.*



The Proceedings about the Jews in England, in the Year 1655.

IN the year 1655, Oliver Cromwell being then Protector of the three nations, Manasseh Ben Israel, a famous Jewish Rabbi afore-mentioned, came as an agent from Holland to endeavour to procure the re-admission of the Jews into England, and made the following proposals to the Protector,

teſtor, for which (it was then diſcourſed) they offer'd no leſs than two hundred thouſand pound.

1. That the Hebrew nation might be received here, and protected from all wrongs equally as the Engliſh. 2. To have publick ſynagogues allowed in England, to obſerve their religion as they ought. 3. To have a burying-place out of the town, without being moleſted by any about their funerals. 4. To traffick as freely in all ſorts of merchandize as other ſtrangers. 5. To the end that the coming over of the Jews may be for the profit of the nation, and prejudice or offend none, that a perſon of quality may be aſſigned by the Proteſtor to receive their paſſports, and their oath of fealty to him. 6. To prevent trouble in our judges and others, that matters of difference among the Jews may be accorded and determined by the heads of the ſynagogues, and others with them, among themſelves. 7. To repeal any laws made againſt the Jews, (if any ſuch there be) for their greater ſecurity.

When theſe propoſals were read, the Proteſtor ſaid; *That if more were propoſed than was meet to be granted, it might now be conſidered,* 1. *Whether it were lawful at all to receive in the Jews.* 2. *If it be lawful, then upon what terms it was fit to admit them.* Hereupon he ſummoned ſeveral divines, lawyers, and merchants, to attend him and his privy council, to declare their opinions in this matter.

The preachers that the Proteſtor ſent letters to, and who met, were Dr. Tuckney, Dr. Whitchcot, M. Newcomen, Dr. Wilkinſon, Mr. Row, Mr. Phil. Nye, Mr. Carter, Mr. Caryll, Mr. Cudworth, Mr. Bridge, Mr. Ben of Dorcheſter, Mr. T. Goodwin, Mr. Jeſſey, and Mr. Dyke of Eſſex. The lawyers were, the Lord Chief Juſtice Glyn, and the Lord Chief Baron Steel. The merchants were, Alderman Dethick, Lord-Mayor of London: Alderman Pack, late Lord-Mayor; the two Sheriffs; Alderman Tichburn, Mr. Creſſet, of the Charter-houſe; and Mr. Kiſſen.

Some of theſe alledged, that it was much to be doubted, if they ſhould return, that many would be ſeduced and cheated by them, and though they heartily deſired the converſion of the Jews, yet they feared greatly it would prove

prove the subversion of many here, because people at this time were so soon drawn aside to new opinions.

To this the Lord Lawrence, and M. Gen. Lambert, replied, That persons were now carried away with the notion of farther light, and of new discoveries of Christ, and the gospel: but were not like to be taken with the Jewish religion which denies Christ and the gospel, and there is nothing in their solemn worship that is inviting, but rather much that is very ridiculous: Therefore they were not so like to seduce others.

Mr. Matth. Newcomen, of Essex, argued, That the offering children to Moloch, and other idolatry, might seem not to be taking, yet we may read how the Jews were pleased therewith. And some other opinions had been lately broached, which though sober christians judge to be very impious and monstrous, yet have found too many followers and receivers of them.

Some judged, that the Jews dealing chiefly in merchandize, and not in husbandry, or purchasing houses or land, the great trade they might bring in, would abate the prices of all foreign goods imported, and advance the value of our native manufactures exported, to the great benefit of the nation; and besides might be a hopeful means to convert them to the christian faith.

The L. Chief Baron Steel gave a large account from antient records of the former state of the Jews in England, and of their hard sufferings here in the time of Constantine the Great, and of some kings before the Conquest. Likewise of William the Conqueror's bringing them into England from Roan in Normandy, whose posterity inhabiting in London, and several other chief cities, were falsely accused (as they declared) that they used to steal christian male-children from their neighbours, whom they would circumcise, crown with thorns, whip, torture, and crucify, in derision and scorn of our Lord Jesus Christ, which reports of them had often occasioned great mischiefs and sufferings to befall them, as the following brief account sufficiently evinces.

William Rufus appointed a disputation to be held in Lon-

don, between the Christians and the Jews; but before the day came, the Jews brought the king a present, to the end they might be heard impartially. The king received their gift, encouraging them to quit themselves like men, and swore by St. Luke's face (his usual oath) *That if they prevailed in disputation, he would himself turn Jew, and be of their religion.* A young Jew was at that time converted to the christian faith, whose father being much troubled at it, he presented the king with threescore marks, intreating him to persuade his son to return to his Judaism, whereupon the king sent for his son, and commanded him to return immediately to the religion of his nation. But the young man answered, *He wonder'd his majesty would use such words, for being a christian, he should rather persuade him to christianity.* With which answer the king was so confounded, that he commanded the young man out of his presence. But his father finding the king could do no good upon his son, required his money again. *Nay, saith the king, I have taken pains enough for it, and yet thou mayest see how kindly I will deal, you shall have one half, and you cannot in conscience deny me the other half, and so dismiss'd him.*

In 1235, the 19th of Henry III. seven Jews were brought before the king at Westminster, who were charged to have taken a boy, and kept him private from the sight of any but their own nation, for a whole year; and had circumcised him, intending also to have crucified him at the solemnity of Easter; upon which their bodies and goods remained at the king's pleasure. In the 30th of this king, Nov. 20. one hundred and two Jews were brought from Lincoln to Westminster, and there accused for crucifying a child of eight years old, named Hugh: These Jews were, upon examination, sent to the Tower of London, eighteen of them were hanged, and the other four remained long in prison.

In the reign of Henry II. the number of the Jews throughout England was very great, yet wheresoever they dwelt, they were commanded not to bury their dead anywhere but in London, which being many times inconvenient to bring dead

dead bodies from remote places, the king gave them liberty to bury in the same place where they lived. In 1189, at the coronation of Richard I. son of Henry II. at Westminster a great disaster befel the Jews, for king Richard not favouring them, as his father had done, had given strict charge that no Jew should be a spectator of the solemnity; yet several Jews pressing in, and the officers appointed refusing them entrance, there arose a quarrel, which proceeded from words to blows, whereby many Jews were hurt, and some slain; and thereupon a report was suddenly spread abroad, that the king had commanded to have all the Jews destroyed; upon which it is incredible what rising there was in an instant, of the houses of the Jews, and cutting their throats: and though the king signified by publick declaration, that he was highly displeased with what was done, yet there was no quieting of the multitude till next day; and many of the mutineers were afterward punished by the law.

In the reign of king John, 1202. great sums of money were exacted, from the Jews, among whom there was one who would not pay the money charged upon him, till the king caused one of his great teeth to be pulled out every day for seven days together; upon which he was at last compelled to give the king ten thousand marks of silver, that no more might be pulled out, since he had but one left in his head.

King Henry III. being very profuse, was brought so low for want of money, that he was forced to borrow, nay, almost beg it of his subjects; but the Jews, who were ever exposed to his will, felt the weight of his necessities; and one Abraham a Jew in London being found a delinquent, was constrained to redeem himself for 700 marks. And Aaron, another Jew, protested, *The king, since his last being in France, had taken from him at several times 30 000 marks of silver, beside 200 marks of gold given to the queen.* At another time this king Henry extorted a sum out of the Jews, and then let them out to farm, to his brother Richard, for a considerable sum, which he paid him, and he was to make what more of them he could. He likewise built a church

church for converted Jews in London. It happened about this time, that a Jew falling into an house of office upon Saturday, would not be taken out that day, because it was the Jews sabbath; whereupon the earl of Gloucester said, *He should not be taken out on the Sunday, because it was the christian sabbath*; so that when Monday came he was taken out dead.

In the 7th of Edward I. the Jews at Northampton were charged with crucifying a christian boy upon Good-Friday, but did not thoroughly kill him; for which fact many Jews at London were, after Easter, drawn at the horse-tails and hanged. The same year king Edward called in all the old money and coined new, because it had been much clipped and defaced by the Jews, for which two hundred and ninety-seven were at one time executed in London. And in the eighteenth year of his reign all the Jews were banished out of London and England, there being at that time above fifteen thousand in the kingdom, who had all their goods seized and confiscated to the king's use, and only so much money left them as would bear their charges out of the kingdom. But before this he ordained, that the Jews should wear a mark of cognizance upon their upper garments, whereby to be known, and restrained their excessive taking of usury: Several other cruelties were executed upon them at Stamford and other places in England.

The judges Glyn and Steel said, *There was no law which forbid the Jews returning into England; and it was therefore insisted on, That they might come upon terms and agreements, and might at first be only permitted and connived at, which might be restrained if any inconvenience happened, and that all due care might be taken to prevent their blaspheming the Lord Jesus Christ, adoring the law, and seducing others.*

Mr. Nye and Mr. T. Goodwin were of opinion, *That due cautions, warranted by Holy Scripture, being observed, it was a duty to yield to their request, considering 1. It is God's will that strangers and persons in trouble should be courteously dealt with. 2. That special respect ought to be had to the Jews, because, Their debtors we are, Rom. xv. 27. and partake*

partake of the Messias, promises, and salvation that was to the Jews, as Natural branches of the olive-tree, 3. Because we are brethren of the same father Abraham, they naturally after the flesh: We, believers, after the spirit. 4. Because we believe these natural branches shall return, and it will be the glory of the Gentiles, where they reside, to be kind to them. 5. Many Jews are now in very great streights in Poland, Lithuania, Prussia, &c. by the Wars in those countries, whereby they are deprived of their habitations; and thereby the yearly alms which they used to send to their brethren the poor Jews, of the German synagogue, at Jerusalem hath ceased, and of seven hundred poor Jews there, above four hundred are famished, and that the Turks did now very cruelly persecute them, as a letter from Jerusalem to their friends relates. 6. The Jews in France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the Spanish West-Indies, if they are professed Jews, must wear a badge of it, whereby they are exposed to many violences, mocks, and cruelties, to avoid which many dissemble themselves to be Roman Catholicks, and if after-ward they appear to be Jews, they forfeit goods, if not life also. Now some of these had intreated Rabbi Manasseh to be their agent, to intreat the favour of coming to England, to live and trade there. And it might be very acceptable to God if favour (as far as it was lawful) were shewn therein.

Mr. Joseph Caryl said to this effect. "That though the Jews were now under hardness of heart, and worthy of punishment, yet we had need beware not to occasion their further hardening, or of being instruments in punishing them. That the good people of England did generally more believe the promises of the calling of the Jews, and more earnestly pray for it than any other nation. That many protestants who were persecuted in the reign of Queen Mary, and since, have been kindly received as strangers in other countries, and that we should the more pity and harbour distressed strangers, especially persecuted Jews. That the cruel injuries and inhumanities used toward that nation (that intruded not, but were invited into England) by our kings and government, whereby multitudes of them were kill'd, and drowned

drowned in the Thame, the sea, &c. might still lye as a sin upon these kingdoms, which our kindness to their survivors and successors, may make some kind of amends and satisfaction for."

But the merchants vehemently insisting upon it, That such admission of the Jews would enrich foreigners, and impoverish the natives of the land, was one chief occasion of preventing the same.

Now the Protector having heard all their sentiments upon this affair, declared, " That he had no engagement to the
 " Jews, but what the scripture held forth, and that since
 " there was a promise of their conversion, means must be
 " used to that end, which was the preaching of the gospel,
 " and that could not be had unless they were permitted to
 " reside where the gospel was preached. That he had
 " hoped, by these preachers, to have had some clearing
 " of the case, as to matters of conscience, but seeing they
 " agreed not, but were of different opinions, it was left
 " more doubtful to him, and the council, than before :
 " And he hoped he should do nothing herein hastily or
 " rashly, and had much need of all their prayers, that the
 " Lord would direct them so as might be to his glory, and
 " the good of the nation "

So this little assembly, after having continued about fourteen days, was dismissed, and many Jews, that were merchants, came from foreign parts in hopes of settling here, but, finding themselves disappointed, returned sorrowfully back again. And this project of the Jews was never afterward revived.



*The EPISTLE of KING AGBARUS
to our Saviour Jesus Christ, with our Sa-
viour's Answer.*

I Know not how better to fill up the following vacant pages, than by adding this notable relation mentioned by the famous historian Eusebius, in his first book of Ecclesiastical History, which followeth in these words:

“ After the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was made manifest to all men, by the working of miracles, he drew unto him an innumerable company of strangers, who dwelt far distant from Judea, and were afflicted with divers diseases and maladies, hoping of him to recover their health, among which number king Agbarus, governor of the famous nations inhabiting beyond the river Euphrates, being grievously diseased in body, and judged incurable by the skill of men, hearing the renowned fame of Jesus, and the wonderful works that he wrought in all places, he petitioned to him by letters, humbly desiring deliverance from his disease. Jesus (though not presently) yielding to his petition, vouchsafed to answer him by an epistle, that he would shortly send one of his disciples, who should cure his malady, and not only his but all that belong'd to him, which promise he in a short time performed; for after his resurrection from the dead, and ascension into heaven, Thomas, one of the twelve apostles, sent his brother Thaddeus (who was reckoned among the seventy disciples of Christ) by divine inspiration unto the city of Edessa, to be a preacher and evangelist of the doctrine of Christ, by whom all things which concerned the promise of our Saviour were performed; and for the further confirmation hereof, the letters themselves are recorded in the monuments of the princely city of Edessa, and inrolled in the publick registry there,

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among things of antiquity acted about the time of king Agbarus, and preserved unto this day; and I know no reason why we may not give you the very letters themselves, as they were copied out of the registry; and translated by us out of the Syrian tongue.

The Epistle of Agbarus to our Saviour.

AGBARUS, governor of Edessa, unto Jesu the good Saviour, shewing himself at Jerusalem, sendeth greeting. I have heard of thee and thy cures, which thou hast done without medicines or herbs; for as the report goeth, thou makest the blind to see, the lame to go, the lepers thou cleansest, evil spirits and devils thou castest out, the long diseased thou restorest to health, and raisest the dead to life. When I heard these strange tidings concerning thee, I imagined within myself, one of these two things; that thou art either a God come from heaven, and performest these matters, or else the Son of God that bringest these things to pass. Wherefore by these my letters, I beseech thee, to take the pains to come unto me, and that thou wilt cure me of this my grievous malady, wherewith I am sore vexed. I have heard moreover, that the Jews murmur against thee, and go about to destroy thee, I have here a little city and honest, which will suffice us both.

Our Saviour's Answer to Agbarus.

AGBARUS blessed art thou, because thou believed in me when thou sawest me not, for it is written of me, that they which see me shall not believe in me, that they which see me not may believe and be saved; concerning what thou writest unto me, that I should come unto thee, I let thee understand that all things touching my message are here to be fulfilled, and after the fulfilling thereof, I am to return again to him that sent me; but after my assumption I will send one of my disciples unto thee, who shall cure thy malady, and restore life unto thee, and them that be with thee.

These

These epistles Eusebius affirms he translated out of the records of Edessa, written in the Syrian tongue, in which records it afterwards followed ; that when Jesus was taken up, Judas who is also called Thomas, sent unto him Thaddeus the apostle, one of the seventy, who when he arrived remained with one Tobias, the son of Tobias ; when the fame of him was spread abroad, and that he was made manifest by the miracles which he wrought, it was signified to Agbarus, that Thaddeus, the apostle of Jesus, of whom he wrote in his epistle was come, and that this Thaddeus, through the power of God, began to cure every disease and malady, so that all men greatly marvelled ; Agbarus hearing of the mighty and wonderful works which he wrought, and that he healed in the name and power of Jesus, was confirmed that this was he of whom Jesus had written, saying, *After my ascension I will send one of my disciples unto thee, who shall cure thy malady.* He then sent for Tobias, where Thaddeus lodged, and said unto him, “ I hear say that a certain mighty man who came from Jerusalem sojourneth with thee, and cureth many in the name of Jesus ;” Tobias replied, “ Yea my Lord, there came a certain stranger, and lodged at my house, who hath done many wonderful things ;” to whom the king said, “ Bring him unto me.” Tobias returning to Thaddeus, said unto him, “ Agbarus the governor sent for me, and commanded me, to bring thee unto him, that thou may’st cure his disease ;” Thaddeus answered, “ I go, for it is for his sake that I am sent thus mightily to work ;” Tobias rising betimes the next day went with him to Agbarus. As he came in, even upon his entrance, the countenance of Thaddeus appeared very glorious to Agbarus, in the presence of his chief men, upon which the king gave him so much reverence that all there present marvelled thereat, for none of them saw the glory save Agbarus only, who discoursed with Thaddeus, and said, “ Art thou of a truth a disciple of Jesus, the Son God, who made me this promise, *I will send unto thee one of my disciples, who shall cure thy disease, and shew life unto thee and all thine ?*” To whom Thaddeus answered, “ Be-
cause

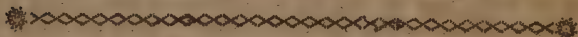
cause thou hast greatly believed in the Lord Jesus that sent me : therefore am I sent unto thee, and if thou still continue to believe in him, thou shalt obtain thy hearty petitions according to thy faith ;” Agbarus replied, “ I have so firmly believed in him that I could have found in my heart utterly to have destroyed the Jews who crucified him, were not the Roman empire an hindrance to my design.” Thaddeus said, “ Our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, fulfilled the will of his father, which being finished, he is ascended unto him ;” Agbarus answered, “ And I have believed in him and in his father ;” “ therefore, said Thaddeus, in the name of the same Lord Jesus, I lay my hand upon thee ;” which when he had done he forthwith cured him of his malady, and delivered him from the pain wherewith he was sore afflicted : Agbarus was hereat astonished, and that as it was reported of Jesus, so he now found it true by his disciple and apostle Thaddeus, that he was cured without the vertue of herbs or medicines ; and not only he, but also Abdus, the son of Abdus, grieved with the gout, who falling at the feet of Thaddeus, recovered his former health by the laying on of hands : he likewise cured many more of his fellow citizens, and wrought sundry miraculous things, preaching the word of God.

Then Agbarus proceeded to discourse with him saying, “ Thou Thaddeus, through the power of God, dost these things, and we have thee in admiration, I pray thee therefore further to expound unto me the coming of Jesus, how he was made man, and by what might and power he brought such things as we have heard of to pass ;” At this season, replied Thaddeus, I will be silent, though I am sent to preach the word, but to-morrow call together all thy people and citizens, and I will then preach and shew to them the word of God, and sow the word of life ; and teach them the manner of his coming, how he was made man, of his message, and to what end he was sent from the father, of his miracles and mysteries declared to the world, and his power in bringing mighty things to pass ; likewise his new preaching, and how low, mean, and humble he seemed

seemed as to outward appearance, how he humbled himself, died, and veiled his divinity, what great things he suffered of the Jews, how he was crucified and descended into hell, rent that hedge and mid-wall which was never severed before, and raised the dead, who of a long time had slept; how he descended alone, but ascended to the Father accompanied with many, how he sitteth in glory at the right hand of God the Father in heaven, and last of all, how he shall come again with glory and power to judge both the quick and the dead."

When the morning was come, Agbarus commanded his citizens to be assembled, to hear the sermon of Thaddeus, which being ended, he ordered that gold both coined and uncoined, should be given unto him; but he received it not, saying, "Insomuch as we have forsaken our own, how can we receive the goods of other men?"

These things, saith Eusebius, were done in the forty-third year after Christ; which being translated word for word out of the Syrian tongue, I thought good to publish.



The Epistle of PAUL the Apostle to the LAODICEANS.

Paul the Apostle to the Laodiceans.

1. **P**AUL an Apostle, not of works; waiting upon his man, nor by man, but promises to the day of judgment, by Jesus Christ.

2. To the brethren which are at LAODICEA, grace and peace be with you from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.

3. I thank my God in all my prayers, that you remain stedfast in him, and in all his

4. And be not seduced by some unprofitable talkers, who go about to cause you to fall from the gospel, which was preached unto you by me.

5. Oh that they that were instructed by me, might serve to the profit of the gospel of truth,

truth, and become diligent in good works of eternal life.

6. And henceforth are my bonds manifest, which I suffer for Christ's sake.

7. Wherefore I rejoice in heart, and account it eternal salvation.

8. That such is done through your prayers, by the working of the Holy Spirit, whether by life or death.

9. For I have a will and a joy to die in Christ, who will through the same mercy give you to have the same love, and to be of one mind.

10. Therefore beloved brethren, as you have heard in my presence, that keep, and finish in the fear of God, so shall you have eternal life; for God will work it, and perfect it in you without delay.

11. My beloved, rejoice in the Lord, and take heed of them that are desirous after filthy lucre.

12. Let your prayers be manifest unto God, and remain firm in the knowledge of Christ.

13. And do that which is meet, convenient, just, and reasonable, and what you heard and received, that keep in your hearts: So shall you have praise.

14. The grace of God and of our Lord Jesus Christ, be with your spirits. Amen.

Cause this epistle to be read unto the Colossians, and read you that which is written unto the Colossians.

This epistle of Paul was found in the oldest bible that was printed at Worms, a famous city in Germany; read Coloi. iv. 16. *And when this epistle is read among you, cause also that it be read in the church of the Laodiceans, and that ye likewise read the epistle from Laodicea.*

Concerning the Death of PAUL the Apostle.

PAUL being delivered by Nero, bound unto Longinus and Maginus, the chief officers, and Accitus the centurion,

turion, that they should lead him without the city, and cause him to be beheaded. And Paul being full of the Holy Ghost, spake the words of eternal life, that both Nero and all should believe in Jesus Christ, who was the king of heaven and earth, who would destroy the glory of the world with fire. When they had led him away, Longinus, Magistus, and Akestus began to say unto him, "Tell us, O Paul, where is that king, and where will he appear unto you, and how will you know him? And what will he give unto you? or what good will he bestow upon you, that you christians so mightily love him, that by no means you will consent unto our religion, that you may live and enjoy the good of this life: But rather than all the pleasures of delight, to be led to die for him with divers torments; for this seems to us to be a great error, to hate this joyful life, and to embrace with all your desire, punishment and death?" Paul therefore saith, *O ye wise men, and flourishing in knowledge, depart out of darkness and error, wherein all the nobility of your understanding is clouded with darkness, lest you should see the truth, which lieth hid in your minds, to the eternal and true light, that ye may be able first to know yourselves, and so come to the knowledge of that king with gladness, and to be saved from that fire which is to come upon the World, and to remain unburt; for we do not war, as you think, for some earthly king, but the living God, the kingdom without end; who by reason of the iniquities that are done in this World he will come a judge, and will judge it by fire; happy will that man be who will believe in him, he shall have eternal life, and shall live world without end; and most unhappy is he, who, despising the riches of his bounties and long suffering, will not return unto him, for he shall perish eternally.*

A Catalogue of those Scriptures which are mentioned, but not inserted in the bible.

THE prophecy of Enoch, mentioned Jude 14. The book of Jehu, mentioned 2 Chron. 20. 34. The book of the battles of the Lord, mentioned Numb. 21. 14. The book of Nathan the prophet, the book Iddo, the prophecy of Ahijah, mention'd 2 Chron. 9. 19. The book of Shemaiah the prophet, mention'd 2 Chron. 12. 15. The book of Jasher, mention'd 2 Sam. 1. 18. The book of Gad, 1 Chron. 29. 29. One epistle to the Corinthians, mention'd 1 Cor. 5. 9. The first epistle to the Ephesians, mention'd Eph. 3. 3. The epistle to the Laodiceans, mention'd Col. 4. 16. The book of Henoch, mentioned in the epistle of Ithaddeus, Origen, and Tertullian. The books of Solomon's three thousand proverbs, and one thousand songs, with his books of the nature of trees, plants, beasts, and fishes, mentioned 1 Kings 4. 32, 33. The epistle fathered upon Barnabas. The revelation of Peter. The doctrine called the Apostles, mentioned in Eusebius, Lib. 3. chup. 22.

F I N I S.



